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THE SACRED BOOKS AND EARLY LITERATURE OF THE EAST

WITH HISTORICAL SURVEYS OF THE CHIEF WRITINGS OF EACH NATION

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THE TEMPLE OF FIVE HUNDRED GODS.

In this temple, erected about 500 A.D., there are five hundred statues now worshipped as Gods, though originally perhaps meant as genii or as the disciples of Buddha.



THE SACRED BOOKS AND EARLY LITERATURE OF THE EAST

VOLUME XII

MEDIEVAL CHINA

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"*Let there be light.*"—GENESIS I, 3.

"*There never was a false god, nor was there ever really a false religion, unless you call a child a false man.*"—MAX MÜLLER.

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SACRED BOOKS AND EARLY LITERATURE OF MEDIEVAL CHINA

INTRODUCTION

TAOISM, THE MOST POPULAR AMONG A THOUSAND RELIGIONS

CHINA, being the most tolerant of all lands, has sheltered so many different faiths that it has been called the land of a thousand religions. Among these thousand ways of worship, three are far more prominent than others, both in the number of their adherents and in the honor done them by the Government. Two of them, Confucianism and Buddhism, have been already depicted in our previous volumes. There remains for the present volume Taoism, the wide-spread "popular" religion of China to-day. To this our volume adds a brief glance at the later development of Confucianism and other faiths. In Chinese literature, as we have already seen, Confucianism is synonymous with the ancient classics. The works which Confucius wrote about 500 B.C., combined with the still older books which he honored and preserved, form the "ancient treasure" of Chinese scholarship.

Yet when we turn to Taoism, we find that this too has a literature of its own — a most remarkable literature, and a most remarkable history. As the faith of the common people, Taoism has developed along lines of profoundly human interest. In Confucianism we found everything carefully recorded, mathematically arranged; for it was from the first a religion of "ceremonies." What Confucianism chiefly insisted upon was decorum, conservatism, a doing of everything in accordance with carefully established formulas.

This should be kept in mind in reading the present volume; for Taoism finds itself at every point in protest against the logical, organizing spirit of the Confucians.

There is difficulty even in saying precisely what Taoism is.[1] It has no desire to formulate itself or to explain its doctrines. It has even been called by modern critics the "religion of anarchy"; and certainly its central, or at least its earliest, teachings somewhat justify the title. Its most ancient books are already in revolt against civilization. They declare that all the organization of society is mistaken, that mankind primevally were simply and naturally good, and that civilization has made them selfish and grasping, and therewith has taught them subtlety and sin. If, however, the philosopher begins to build up from this idea any of its logical consequences, as voiced in modern anarchism or kindred doctrines, Taoism will scornfully set those theories aside. It has no use for philosophers, nor for their deductions.

Even the question of the age and origin of Taoism is as tantalizingly vague as everything else about it. Apparently the faith is far older than Confucianism. Indeed it claims to be the original religion of China and of mankind. To be sure, it bases itself to-day on the book which opens this volume, the Tao-Teh King of the "Old Philosopher," Lao-Tze. But Lao-Tze is like Confucius at one point; he declares himself a mere transmitter of earlier knowledge. He asserts that all his teachings are really those of Hwang-Ti, the legendary civilizer of China, who is supposed to have ruled the land in 2697 B.C. Other Taoists would take us yet further back, telling us that Hwang-Ti was instructed in his faith by an ancient sage, Kwang Chang-Tze, who by applying the teachings of Taoism to his own existence had lived twelve hundred years. There even exists among the Taoists a curious little book, the Yin Fu King, which they

[1] Pronunciations differ widely in different parts of the vast expanse of China. In most of the coastlands where Europeans come an initial "t" is pronounced almost like "d," making "Tao" sound like "dow," rhyming with "cow." So, too, the prophet of Taoism, Lao-Tze, pronounced "low" (as in "cow"), -Tze (short "e").

declare is the actual book of the Emperor Hwang-Ti, his record of the teaching of the long-lived Kwang. They thus claim for the Yin Fu an antiquity of almost five thousand years, offering it as a voice from the very cradle of Chinese civilization. This tiny book is given in our volume; but as Western criticism has been a unit in regarding it as a work of very much later date, it is here classed with the more modern Taoist texts.

THE TAO-TEH KING

On the Tao-Teh King, therefore, Taoism rests for its literary foundation; yet even around the Tao-Teh there has arisen so much of doubt and controversy that Western scholars are still in widest disagreement as to its meaning, its value, its age, and even its authorship. Lao-Tze was a scholar and philosopher of the generation immediately preceding Confucius. Of that there is no doubt whatever; and some of our leading scholars have asserted that his authorship of the Tao-Teh is as fully established as is the authorship of any ancient book in the world. When, however, we turn to consider the meaning and value of this foundation-stone of Taoism we are on more puzzling ground.

As to its meaning, on which its value must depend, we have already in our previous volume pointed out the difficulty of turning the vagueness of Chinese literature into the definiteness of English thought. Language at its best can never be more than a very imperfect method of transmitting to the brains of others the imperfect visions of our own loosely working minds. But the Chinese written language, and especially in its ancient books, seems the loosest of all civilized word-forms. Not only does each character stand for several differing things, but each may do duty as a noun, a verb, or a modifying adjectival form. Hence several meanings can be read from any ancient Chinese sentence. Chinese scholars tell us that we must approach the author with sympathy, must get into touch with his spirit and purpose, and that then we will easily discriminate as to which idea he is expressing. But this method of interpreting the

Tao-Teh has led to such widely differing versions of its meaning and its worth, that we have felt it necessary to invite the reader into the vortex for himself, by offering him two translations of the opening chapters of the unquestionably remarkable book.

The chief controversy rages about the word "Tao" itself. Who or what is the "Tao"? Some of our scholars would translate "Tao" as meaning Nature or the course of Nature, that is the great sweeping onward from eternity to eternity, which Carlyle has visioned for us. And in this view-point the commonest translation of "Tao" is "the Way" or path, the road along which all men are traveling, and along which all the universe is traveling with us. Yet the Tao is not simply the trodden path; it is rather the impelling force which sweeps us on, the rushing wind of existence, the creative force; and in this sense the Tao comes very near to meaning what we mean by God. Only if we conceive the Tao thus, it must be as a wholly impersonal God, standing apart not only from human form but from every quality of humanity which we are prone to attribute to His infinity.

The Tao, then, is the unknown Power which the great Lao-Tze makes no pretense of understanding. He only humbly interprets such of its movings and its meanings as creation shadows forth for men. He knows neither its limits nor its purposes; he sees only that it is right and is omnipotent, and that it moves forever onward. It is the Tao, the Way of the universe. The reader may, if he will, reject even this interpretation as too definite, after he has read the Tao-Teh; but he will at least appreciate the meaning of the endless controversy about the book. He will also turn with interest to the following section of our volume, the writings of Chuang-Tze.

THE "DIVINE CLASSIC" OF CHUANG-TZE

Chuang-Tze is the most celebrated follower of Lao-Tze. Indeed, he has been sometimes suspected of inventing the entire religion himself, and then attributing it to Lao-Tze

and to the earlier ages. In brief, Chuang-Tze was one of the greatest romancers who ever lived, always ready with tales invented at the moment, to illustrate whatever point he wished; and while there seems quite sufficient proof that Taoism existed before his time, we can not doubt that, if it had not, he both could and would have been ready to invent it, complete. The possessor of this lively fantasy was a definite historical figure. He lived and wrote about a century and a half after Confucius. In those days the teachings of Confucius were not yet established as a State religion. There were many other philosophers whose followers sometimes rivaled in numbers the following of Confucius. Chuang-Tze attacked them all. He was a clever satirist, a vigorous arguer, a brilliant optimist. He adopted the views of the long dead Lao-Tze and maintained them against all others. He wrote some thirty-three books to uphold his views; and by these and by his teachings spread Taoism over all China. If Hwang-Ti really invented Taoism, and if Lao-Tze formulated and preserved it, yet to Chuang-Tze belongs the fame of having established it as the popular religion of his countrymen. The most important of his books, and especially the Nei, or Inner Circle, of seven books, which are regarded as the core of his teaching, are given here. Their popularity in China has never waned.

LATER TAOIST TEXTS

The Taoism of later ages we may dismiss more briefly. Since Lao-Tze opposed the social organization of men in governed bodies, and advocated doing nothing, it followed that Taoism itself had no priesthood, no established leaders, to preserve the form of its doctrines. It rapidly degenerated into a mass of superstitions. It came to include alchemy and astrology, magic and divination. Men might seek to know the Tao by what means they would. Later ages even made Lao-Tze a god. Many of the doctrines of Buddhism crept into the faith; and at length Lao-Tze became a sort of Taoist Buddha who had been reincarnated again and again, as Hwang-Ti, as himself, and as others, to

preserve for men the knowledge of the "Way." Taoist shrines and orders of monks sprang up like those of the Buddhists, and in Taoist temples also a trinity of godhood was worshiped. The trinity became Lao-Tze, the Tao, and a third even vaguer figure, perhaps the Ti or God of Heaven of Confucianism, perhaps primeval Chaos itself. At a still later date (A.D. 1116) a new deity entered the Taoist pantheon. This was Yu Hwang Ti, a head-priest of the faith, who had become renowned as a miracle-worker and who was declared to have been appointed the judge in heaven to weigh the deeds of men. Because of this direct control of human fate, Yu Hwang Ti has become the most worshiped of the Taoist gods.

It was as this hodge-podge of many faiths, with childish rites and superstitions, with charms against evil spirits and prayers to many idols, that Taoism was first known and despised by Europeans. Only by slow degrees have we penetrated to its original writings and its more consistent central form. These are still partly preserved for modern times, not only by the books of Lao-Tze and Chuang-Tze, but also by many later works. The most noted of these our volume gives, including the already mentioned little book of the Yin Fu King, and also a poetic inscription preserved in the birth-temple of Lao-Tze, the formula of the ceremonial which made him a god. We also give the Thai-Shang, which is the "popular gospel" of Taoism as read by the Chinese of to-day. Chinamen who find the great Taoist doctrines of old are too abstruse can at least grasp the simple Taoism of the Thai-Shang.

THE WORKS OF MENCIUS

After this brief tracing of the development of Taoism and its literature, we must survey the growth of other religions in China. Confucianism, as we have just seen, was not immediately adopted in the days of its great teacher Confucius or Kung. It remained but one among many philosophies, until it was taken up by Mencius. The real name of this celebrated sage was Mang, but we have Latinized it

into Mencius, just as we Latinized Kung Fu-tze into Confucius. Mang was a younger contemporary of our great Taoist teacher Chuang-Tze. There is, in fact, a striking parallel between the Taoist masters Lao-Tze and Chuang-Tze, and the Confucians Kung and Mang. Mang added much to the faith he had learned from the writings of Confucius. While humbly attributing all his doctrines to his master, he really revised and popularized them and then brought his country to accept this revised faith as its chief religion. The Confucianism taught to-day in China is the specific form developed by Mencius. His seven books therefore occupy a section of our volume.

THE NESTORIAN TABLET

Christianity found also an early welcome in China. We know now that somewhere along in the seventh century of our Christian era monks of the Nestorian sect journeyed as missionaries over most of Asia. When they reached China they were listened to as thoughtfully, as respectfully, as were the Buddhist teachers from India. Christianity was given equal chance with Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism to be ranked among the "State religions" of the Empire. For a while it prospered. At one time there must have been many thousands of Nestorian Christians in China. Then, for some cause that we may never learn, the faith dwindled and finally died out. It left behind just one remarkable monument. In the days of its success a tablet had been erected telling of its history. In the days after its disappearance this tablet was preserved with honor in a temple among tablets erected to other lost religions. And there more recent Europeans have rediscovered it. It is called the Nestorian tablet, and is given here, as the one surviving record of early Christianity in China.

THE LESSER LITERATURE OF CHINA

Outside of religious works, the medieval literature of China would have little interest to Western readers. There is an enormous mass of it. In fact, even before our era a

Chinese emperor concluded that the vast number of books was become a burden to his people and ordered all books destroyed, except for a few selected forms, such as philosophic works. The result was an enormous burning of books, which is still regretfully referred to by Chinamen as "the Great Burning" (213 B.C.). Many scholars sacrificed their lives in the effort to preserve their literary treasures; and there has always been some doubt as to just how much of the actual writings even of Confucius and Lao-Tze were then preserved, and how much was afterward rewritten from the memory of their disciples.

Even the "Great Burning," however, could not permanently check Chinese literature. The massing up of books immediately began again, chiefly in commentary and explanation of the religious works, but also in other forms. The oldest Chinese history now known is that of Sze-ma Chien, which was written about 100 B.C. Some stories from it are quoted in the present volume, those being selected which describe the Taoist teachers. Sze-me Chien's work is really a mere collection of not wholly reliable anecdotes; yet it has served as the model history for all later generations. Confucian conservatism has in similar fashion checked Chinese development in every line. Poetry is still modeled on the ancient classic poetry preserved by Confucius in the Shih King. As for the drama, since there was no such art preserved among the Confucian classics, medieval China never developed drama very far. A single well-known example of a Chinese play is, however, presented here to complete our survey of the literature.

Fiction too, though its existence is inevitably interwoven with that of humanity, was regarded by Chinese scholars as undignified and was only tolerated when, as with Chuang-Tze, it enforced philosophy. Yet there is one work of Chinese fiction so artistically written that even Chinese philosophers admire it. They tolerate its theme for the sake of its masterly style, which they hold up as the perfection of their language. This is the Liao Chai, or "Strange Stories of Pu Sung-ling."

As the " Strange Stories " was not written until 1679, its production brings us well down toward modern times and may be fitly accepted as ending the literature of medieval China.

TAOISM

TAO-TEH KING

OR

BOOK OF THE VALUES OF THE TAO

"One of the profoundest philosophical books the world has ever produced."

— PROF. VON DER GABELENZ.

"Lao-Tze possessed in a remarkable degree a great and deep consciousness of God of so sublime and precise a nature that it almost realizes the idea of God belonging to Revelation."

— PROF. VICTOR VON STRAUSS.

TAO-TEH KING

(INTRODUCTION)

THE Tao-Teh King is the Gospel of Taoism, the only surviving work of Lao-Tze, the founder of the faith. It has frequently been ranked among the very greatest books of the world; and whatever version the reader may accept of its central doctrine of the "Tao," the great "Way" of the universe, he will certainly be impressed by the depth of insight into life which Lao-Tze displays. Our reason for presenting two translations of the first part of the Tao-Teh King has been explained in the general introduction. The first translation, that of General Alexander, expresses the views of scholars who frankly accept the Tao as meaning God. The arguments for this are so strong that General Alexander has protested against the "timidity" of scholars who admit the accuracy of the translation yet avoid its use. Our second translation is by Professor Legge, the recognized leader of Chinese scholarship in the West. By seeking to cling as exactly as possible to the vague Chinese symbols of the original, Professor Legge gives us a version the accuracy of which is undeniable. It is not, however, easy to understand, and really needs the further translation of General Alexander or another to make it intelligible.

Of Lao-Tze himself, the writer of this celebrated book, a brief further word may be helpful. Modern Taoism, since elevating Lao-Tze to the rank of godhood, has surrounded him with fables. Confucius once referred to him as the "Venerable Philosopher," and as these Chinese characters may also be interpreted as meaning the "Old Boy," the mad legend was invented that Lao-Tze was only born after having been carried by his mother for over seventy years, and was thus white-bearded and aged at birth. Of more historic probability is the impressive tale by Sze-ma Chien, given in this volume, of the Venerable Philosopher's weariness with

the evil world and his quiet departure into the wilderness, only pausing for a moment at the urgency of the last civilized man, the warden of the outer gate. According to tradition, the warden, an eager disciple of Lao-Tze, asked the sage to drink with him a final cup of tea, and as they sipped their tea together he persuaded Lao-Tze to stay with him long enough to write down the doctrine of the "Way." Lao-Tze did so and then passed out into the desert, leaving behind him the record of his wisdom, the Tao-Teh King.

From amid many accretions of legend, we can still separate some definite facts of the philosopher's life. He was born in the year 604 B.C. at Po Chau, where the birth-temple erected to honor him still stands. He was a scholar and became librarian of the royal library of Chau. Confucius, who was his junior by half a century, once met and argued with him; but Lao-Tze was not a preacher and made no effort to win converts to the Tao. As age came on, he withdrew not unwillingly into obscurity. He had fashioned his whole life on what was perhaps the noblest of his teachings, that men should "recompense injury with kindnesses."

The central faith that molded his doctrines, his book, and even his life, to a gentle pessimism, seems to have been his view that in the old days of simplicity men had instinctively followed the right "Way" in all their acts, whereas in his own days of sophistication they were steadily losing not only the knowledge but the power of the "Way." In his book he says, "If we could renounce our sageness and discard our wisdom, it would be better for the people a hundredfold. If we could renounce our benevolence and discard our righteousness, the people would again become filial and kindly. If we could renounce our artful contrivances and discard our scheming for gain, there would be no thieves and robbers."

TAO-TEH KING

OR

BOOK OF THE VALUES OF THE TAO

Part One [1]

CHAPTER I

God (the great everlasting infinite First Cause from whom all things in heaven and earth proceed) can neither be defined nor named.

For the God which can be defined or named is but the Creator, the Great Mother of all those things of which our senses have cognizance.

Now he who would gain a knowledge of the nature and attributes of the nameless and undefinable God must first set himself free from all earthly desires, for unless he can do this, he will be unable to penetrate the material veil which interposes between him and those spiritual conditions into which he would obtain an insight.

Yet the spiritual and the material, though known to us under different names, are similar in origin, and issue from the same source, and the same obscurity belongs to both, for deep indeed is the darkness which enshrouds the portals through which we have to pass, in order to gain a knowledge of these mysteries.

CHAPTER II

When we have gained a knowledge of that which constitutes beauty, we shall also have gained a knowledge of that which constitutes its reverse.

When we have gained a knowledge of that which constitutes goodness, we shall also have gained a knowledge of that which constitutes evil; for all things stand in a mutual relation to each other, and so it has been said —

[1] Translated by Gen. G. G. Alexander.

"Nothing and something
Are relative terms,
Easy and hard
Are the same;
The long to the short
A proportion affirms,
Which the high to the low
Also claim.
The tones and the notes
Are but modifications,
And before and behind
Only changed situations."

Hence it is that the Sage works when apparently doing nothing, and instructs without uttering a word, ever remembering how all things in nature work silently together; coming into being and possessing nothing; fulfilling the purpose for which they were created without relying on the help of others; advancing to maturity and yet unable to remain in a state of completeness; and yet it is because of this very incapacity for continuance that they are able to continue.

CHAPTER III

When men of high character are not promoted, the people will not strive to follow their example; just as when those things which are difficult to attain are not valued, thieves will not care to steal them.

In like manner, when objects which would be likely to excite evil desires are kept out of sight, men's minds will not be disturbed by them.

Therefore it is that the wise Ruler, acting on these principles, seeks to keep the minds of his subjects free from evil thoughts, whilst at the same time he fills their bellies with wholesome food; and just in proportion as he seeks to strengthen their bodies, so does he endeavor to weaken their vicious inclinations. His unceasing aim is to prevent their gaining a knowledge of depravity and vice, but should some, however, despite all his efforts, succeed in doing so, he takes care that they shall not have opportunities for making use of it, so that in the end, all, without exception, are rendered amenable to good government.

CHAPTER IV

God is immaterial, and it is out of the immaterial that He has created all things. Though we know Him not in all His fulness, yet how deep and profound He seems, as He stands before us as the Great Universal Progenitor, who

Blunts the sharp points,
Sets in order the tangles,
Attempers the light,
Brings the atoms together.

Oh, how pure and perfect He is, as He stands before us as the Great Everlasting Preserver.

I know not His origin, but He would appear to have existed before the Lord of Heaven was.

CHAPTER V

Heaven and Earth do not act from motives of benevolence, but all things in nature are dealt with much in the same way as the artificial dogs stuffed with straw, used in the sacrificial rites, are dealt with.

The Sages were not actuated by mere motives of benevolence, hence they dealt with mankind much in the same manner — that is to say, as instruments.

Heaven and Earth may be likened to the blacksmith's bellows, which seems to be empty when it is at rest, but when it is set in motion a continuous stream of air issues from it.

But not so with words, for much talking leads to exhaustion; therefore he who is wise knows when to stop.

CHAPTER VI

It was written of old —

"The Spirit of the Valley never dies;
The mystic Mother, out whose pregnant womb
All things have issue. Hence, too, she is called
The Root of Nature. Only hold to this,
And there will need no labor for its use."

CHAPTER VII

The fact of Heaven and Earth enduring is a proof of their

having an innate capacity for endurance which does not proceed from their own action or initiative.

So it is that the Sage becomes a leader of others, though he keeps himself in the background; preserves his position, though he places himself on one side; and gains all he seeks for, though he has neither private nor personal aims.

CHAPTER VIII

Transcendent Goodness is like water.

Water is peaceful and extends its beneficent action throughout Nature, not even disdaining those gloomy depths which the vulgar look upon with horror, for water works much as God does.

Now, the term "Goodness" has a variety of applications. It may refer to the quality of the ground upon which a house stands; or to profundity in a thinker; or to sincerity in a speaker; or to well-ordered government; or to a capacity for doing; or to punctuality; but it is only when goodness is used in reference to freedom from contention that it can be considered faultless.

CHAPTER IX

It is easier to carry an empty vessel than a full one.

The point which is often felt after it has been sharpened will soon become blunt.

The hall which is filled with silver and gold will not long retain its contents.

He who bears wealth and honor arrogantly will work out his own destruction.

When meritorious services have led to fame, it is time to follow the heavenly rule and retire into obscurity.

CHAPTER X

He who makes the investigation of his spiritual nature his chief object will be able to bring all his studies to a focus, and this concentration of his energies will render him capable of arriving at a condition of sensibility to impressions similar to that which belongs to a young child.

He who is able to wash himself clean from all obscure and

gloomy thoughts will become sound in mind, and — should he be a ruler — if he govern his people on principles founded on love, he will be able to remain in perfect repose and peace as he watches the processes of Nature proceed around him. He will be as the brood hen who carries on her work when in a state of perfect rest; and who, whilst the light of intelligence may overspread the world, is able, without knowledge, to procreate and nourish; to bring forth, and not retain possession; to increase and multiply, and not to hold in subjection; to act, and not to depend upon others for assistance.

Well indeed may this be called a deep and impenetrable mystery.

CHAPTER XI

The thirty spokes of a chariot-wheel and the nave to which they are attached would be useless, but for the hollow space in which the axle turns.

The vase molded out of clay would be useless, but for the empty space left for its contents.

The door and window frames of a house would be useless, but for the empty spaces they enclose, which permit of ingress and egress, and the admission of light and air.

This teaches us that, however beneficial the *material* may be to us, without the *immaterial* it would be useless.

CHAPTER XII

The eye is dazzled by a variety of colors,
The ear is deafened by a diversity of sounds,
The taste is vitiated by a mixture of flavors,
The mind is excited by excessive exercise,
And the character is ruined by seeking to be rich.

Hence it is that the wise man prefers to be emotional rather than to be sensuous, and it is through this that his perceptive faculties become cultivated, so that he is able to arrive at just conclusions.

CHAPTER XIII

There are two sayings which require explanation —

"Promotion and degradation alike give rise to fear," and "Suffering and honor are alike corporeal."

The meaning of the first is, that he who has been promoted lives in fear that he may be degraded, whilst he who has been degraded is haunted by the dread that his degradation may be continued.

With respect to the second saying, it means that the sense of suffering is a consequence of corporeal existence; without a body there could be no bodily pain, and for the same reason there would be no personality on whom honor could be bestowed.

This is why he who does honor to his own person, or he who bestows the same love upon others as he does upon himself, may be entrusted with the government of an empire.

CHAPTER XIV

That which you look at and can not see is called "invisible."

That which you listen to and can not hear is called "inaudible."

That which you seize upon and can not grasp is called "intangible."

These three definitions are difficult of realization when taken singly, let us therefore try what can be done by bringing them together and uniting them in One.

The three negations now form a single combination, but if we scrutinize it closely, no matter in what aspect we may regard it, we shall find nothing either hidden or revealed; and let us be careful not to define it or give it a name, or it will escape from us and become even more subtle than it was before. This is what is meant by "seeking to define the indefinable," and "to establish a resemblance between things which have no real existence."

God is indeed a deep mystery. We can not recognize His presence; if we advance toward Him we can not see what is behind Him; if we follow Him we can not see what is before Him. Yet, if we would gain a knowledge of our present lives, we must hold on to the God of the Past, and the only clue which will lead us up to Him is a knowledge of the processes which formed the beginning of that Past.

CHAPTER XV

The virtues of the olden time, as practised by the Sages, come down to us in such an exiguous, indefinite, and obscure form that it is very difficult for us to understand them. I will, however, do my best to make them clear.

That which the Sages took a pleasure in doing may be likened to the wading across a swollen torrent in mid-winter.

Their caution resembled that which is produced by a fear of our associates and of those who live in our neighborhood.

Their carriage was as the bearing of a guest toward his host.

Their self-effacement was as the melting away of an icicle.

In their indignation they were rough as a piece of unplaned wood.

Their influence was as far-reaching as the flow of a mountain torrent, and like the torrent it became turbid through its own movement.

Now who is there capable of cleansing the impurities of his nature by tranquillity and rest? And who is there capable of producing a state of perfect repose by the long-continued calm of a peaceful life?

In conclusion: Those who affect to cherish these principles, and yet have no desire to carry them out in their entirety, will become capable of committing vile actions, and so remain to the end of their lives in an unreformed and imperfect condition.

CHAPTER XVI

He who would reach the goal of perfect peace
Must be devoid of self, and carnal thoughts,
For all in Nature stand before our eyes,
And we but watch the changes as they pass,
Returning to the state from whence they came —
That is to say, regaining perfect Peace
By working out the everlasting fate
Which each and all is bound to from the first.
He is enlightened who has well learned this;
But he who knows it not will sink in sin.

He who knows of it will be tolerant,
And being tolerant is therefore just;
But Justice is the function of a King,
And Royalty an attribute of Heaven,
And what is Heaven-like comes most near to God:
He who is God-like has eternal life,
And so his body passes without harm.

CHAPTER XVII

In the days of the Great Sovereigns, the time-honored ones of antiquity, even the lower orders had a knowledge of God, and acted upon that knowledge.

Their successors confined themselves to expressing their admiration and love for Him.

Those who followed only feared Him.

Then came those who were dissatisfied with Him.

Insufficient faith leads to no faith, and so there came a time when there was such a falling-off, both in their words and actions, that even the people were led to say —"We are self-created."

CHAPTER XVIII

It was when God had been set aside, that virtue and benevolence, wisdom and prudence were made to take his place. As a consequence, there arose a wide-spread spirit of deception, so that, at a time when there was no harmony in the social relations, filial piety and fraternal affection appeared to flourish, and ministers claimed to be upright when the whole fabric of the State was thoroughly depraved and corrupt.

CHAPTER XIX

If the world could but get rid of its wisdom and its knowledge, the people would be a hundred times better off; if it could but discard and get rid of its virtue and benevolence, the people would at once return to the practise of filial piety and fraternal affection; if it could but get rid of its cleverness and covetousness, there would be no thieves or robbers.

It may be considered that these three conditions have not been set forth with sufficient clearness. I will therefore give

a summary of the practical effects they would produce: Honesty and simplicity would be encouraged, selfishness diminished, and covetousness all but done away with.

CHAPTER XX

There would be nothing very grievous in renouncing study, for it matters very little, after all, whether we use the character *wei* or the character *ah* for "yes"; and such knowledge can not be compared with that which enables us to discriminate between good and evil, and to know that there is a sense of fear in the human heart which can not be got rid of. Alas! the world is overgrown with weeds, and it is almost impossible to keep them within due bounds. The mass of the people thrive and enjoy themselves like cattle in a rich pasture, and are as happy as he who stands on an elevated terrace in spring. But I, alas! am as a solitary ship at anchor on an unknown shore — like an infant before it has advanced to the immaturity of childhood. I stand alone amid an innumerable host living as if there were no return to the state from which they came.

Yes! It must be that the mass of mankind have been granted a superfluity of gifts, whilst I, alone, have been neglected and passed by, for my judgment is weak and my mind is full of doubt.

The vulgar are enlightened and quick witted, whilst I can not penetrate the darkness which surrounds me.

The vulgar have knowledge and the spirit of inquiry, whilst I, alas! am full of despair and am like the ocean which knows no rest.

The mass of mankind can find a reason for everything, but my thoughts are foolish and of no account.

Why do I thus differ from others and stand alone? It is because I honor and revere God — the great Mother — to whom we owe our being and all that supports life.

CHAPTER XXI

The Supreme Good, as manifested to us, is an emanation from God — the creative principle of God.

In the beginning there was naught but chaos. Oh, how wild! Oh, how obscure it was!

Then out of its midst came forth forms! Oh, how wild! Oh, how obscure it was!

Out of its midst came material objects. Oh! the stillness — Oh! the darkness — Oh! the stillness.

Out of its midst came forth the forms of life — perfect in subtlety.

Out of its midst came consciousness, so that from then till now the knowledge of all this remains, and we are enabled to see all that has happened in the world pass in review before us.

Should I be asked how it is that I have this knowledge of the beginning of all things, I give all that I have now written as my answer.

CHAPTER XXII

"To amend the depraved,
To straighten the crooked,
To fill up the hollows,
To renew the worn out —
Is what few attain to
Though many attempt it."

It is because the Sage unites these powers in his own person that he is rendered capable of becoming a model for the whole world. He casts a bright light around him, because he has no wish to shine; he stands out prominently from others, because he is filled with humility; and it is because he is free from self-assertion that his merit is acknowledged. It is because of his self-abnegation that his work endures, and it is because he is non-contentious that there is no power upon earth capable of opposing him.

How then, may I ask, can the old saying I have quoted be regarded as a mere repetition of empty words? Verily, it is so comprehensive that it would be difficult to find anything which is not included in it.

CHAPTER XXIII

Yet a few words which naturally suggest themselves.

What is it — I would ask — which causes the strong breeze to blow itself out in the course of the morning, and the heavy rain to cease before the close of day?

The answer is, the action of Heaven and Earth.

But Heaven and Earth, powerful as they may be, are incapable of enduring forever; and if this be the case with them, how much more must it be so with man.

Remember, however, that the man who regulates all his actions by a belief in God will become like unto God; just as he who walks in the path of virtue will become virtuous; and he who pursues a course of vice will become vicious.

But he who has become like unto God will be a servant of God, whilst he who has become virtuous will obey the dictates of virtue, and he who has become vicious will continue to be a slave to vice.

To have a weak faith is to have no faith.

CHAPTER XXIV

Just as he who raises himself on his toes is unable to stand firmly, or he who straddles out his legs to walk easily, so will he who sees nothing outside himself be incapable of becoming intelligent. So, too, it is, that he who thinks he is always right will never emerge from obscurity; nor he who boasts of his own merits stand high in the opinion of his fellows; nor he who has no pity but for himself live long in the remembrance of others.

Such modes of proceeding, when compared with the divine principles of action emanating from God, present themselves to us much as the off-scourings of food and other loathsome matters held in universal detestation might do.

Hence it is that the godly man is careful to eschew all such conduct.

CHAPTER XXV

Before Heaven and Earth were,
Naught but deep silence
Reigned o'er a void
Of endless immensity —
Dead, for no breath
Of life had yet breathed there:
Oh, how silent, how void it was!
Then He the Infinite,

Perfect, Immutable,
Moved through this nothingness;
He, the Creator,
The "Mother" of all things.
I, in my ignorance,
Knowing no name for Him,
Speak of Him only
As "God," the Eternal,
Thus in one word
Including His attributes:
He, the All-Knowing,
The All-Pervading,
Ever-existent;
Near — yet so far off.
Man's laws are earthly,
Nature's are Heaven-born,
Yet one and both come
From God, the great Source
And Center of all Law.

CHAPTER XXVI

Gravity is the source of lightness, and rest the controlling power of motion.

Therefore it is that the wise man does not — even when making but a day's journey — separate from his baggage-wagons, so that should a beautiful view spread itself out before him, he rests a while, and then continues his journey.

Hence, too, the Ruler who acts with levity will lose the subjects who form the very root of his power, whilst should he act with undue haste, he will lose his Kingdom.

CHAPTER XXVII

A good walker moves lightly over the ground, and his footsteps leave no trace.

A good speaker is accurate and keeps his temper.

A good reckoner needs no tablets.

A good smith needs no wooden bars, yet the doors he fastens can not be opened.

A skilful joiner needs no cords to keep his work together.

In the same manner, it is through the skill and ability of the Sage that his fellow men are aided without one of them being discarded or lost, and it is the same when he deals with the brute creation or material objects.

This is what is called being "doubly enlightened," and hence it is that the skilful man becomes the unskilful man's master, and the unskilful man becomes the skilful man's slave.

When the slave does not honor his master, and the master does not love his slave, although they may both have a knowledge of what is suitable, they will be guilty of gross stupidity.

This may be considered an abstract of the leading principles belonging to a very difficult and subtle subject.

CHAPTER XXVIII

"He who puts forth his strength
And keeps back his weakness
Is like a deep river
Into which all the streams flow.
His virtue shall wane not
Until he is, once more,
As pure as in childhood.

"He who shows forth his light
And hides all his darkness
Shall serve as a model
To all in the Empire.
Hence it is that his virtue
Shall be lasting and fail not
Till merged in the infinite.

"He who makes known his glory
And sets shame behind him
Shall be like a valley
In which all take refuge.
Abounding in virtue,
His gifts shall suffice him
Till restored to his elements."

It is out of the simple elements into which every thing in

nature resolves itself that all material objects are formed: and in like manner the Sage, by making use of the constituents he finds at hand, is able to build up a stable government and establish laws, which shall not be unduly severe on a substantial basis.

CHAPTER XXIX

He who seizes upon an empire from ambitious motives will not succeed, for an empire is a divine institution, and he who thinks he has the power of making it will mar it; and he who thinks he has the power of ruling it by mere force of will will lose it. For truly, as the old saw has it —

"While some advance
The rest retire,
While some inhale
The rest respire,
While some are weak
The rest are strong,
While some stand still
The rest move on."

Therefore the wise man endeavors to keep within due bounds, and avoid all exaggeration, luxury, and extravagance.

CHAPTER XXX

He who would assist a ruler by the application of principles proceeding from a knowledge of God is far more likely to succeed, than he who would coerce an empire by the adoption of stringent military measures, for where large armies are established thorns and thistles grow apace, and where they march pestilence and famine follow in their footsteps.

The wise ruler rests satisfied when he has gained his point, and does not presume, because he has succeeded, to adopt arbitrary measures; neither does he allow his achievement to make him either presumptuous, boastful, or arrogant. Should he, however, be compelled to take further action, he is careful to guard himself from being led, by any subsequent success, to adopt a line of conduct that may be either harsh or tyrannical.

But all things pass through maturity to old age, which is as much as to say they are not God-like, for all that is not God-like soon comes to an end.

CHAPTER XXXI

However excellent warlike weapons may be, they can not be regarded as auspicious instruments, and it is because of the universal dislike entertained toward them that they have no place in the system of the statesman whose action is regulated by divine principles.

In the dwelling of the Superior Man, the place of honor is on the left, but that of the soldier, in the military movements and exercises, is on the right, for the soldier, like the weapon, is not an instrument of happy augury. The instruments used by the Superior Man are very different, and even when they fail him he makes use of none other.

The great object of the Superior Man is to preserve peace and tranquillity. He takes no pleasure in winning battles, for he knows that if he did so he would be finding gratification in the slaughter of his fellows, and he believes that he who takes delight in the destruction of his fellow men will never succeed in gaining the affection of those he rules over.

In all that is auspicious the left occupies the highest place; in all that is inauspicious — the right. So it is that in the army the second in command is placed on the left, whilst the general in chief is on the right, and this accords with the position which has the place of honor in the funeral Rites.

Truly, he who kills numbers of men should mourn over them and weep over them, and a victorious battle should be celebrated with the same rites as are appointed for a funeral.

CHAPTER XXXII

"God is unchanging and has no name."

Now, although this statement is so short and so simple, the world can not take it in. Yet if kings and princes were but to receive it, there is nothing under Heaven which would not resort to them, and it would produce a spirit of harmony which would descend upon the Empire like a fragrant dew,

so that the people would no longer require to receive orders from their superiors, but would be rendered capable of controlling their own actions.

But when a name was given to the Great First Cause, which has been continued to this day, the knowledge I speak of became arrested, and we soon cease to be familiar with that which is withheld from us.

Ah! if the right knowledge of God were but spread through the Empire, it would become like the ocean and great rivers into which the rivulets and streams continuously flow.

CHAPTER XXXIII

He who has a knowledge of other men is intelligent, but he who has a knowledge of himself is enlightened.

He who gains a victory over other men is strong, but he who gains a victory over himself is all powerful.

He who is temperate is rich, but he who is energetic has strength of purpose.

He who does not waste his vital powers may live long, but he who dies and is not forgotten will be immortal.

CHAPTER XXXIV

How infinite and all-pervading God is! All nature turns toward Him for support and sustenance, and He withholds nothing. It is impossible to find a name for His perfections. He bestows His love and care on all that He has created, yet demands nothing in return. Passionless and Eternal, His glory is exhibited in the smallest of His works. All nature reverts to Him, and though He seeks not to exalt Himself He is revealed to us by His greatness.

Hence it is that the Sage, during the course of his whole life, never seeks to be great, and this is why he is able to reach the very pinnacle of greatness.

CHAPTER XXXV

All the people in the Empire will rally round the Ruler who is able to realize the grand conception which belongs to God.

They will not only rally round him, but they will cease from evil-doing and become calm, peaceful, and contented.

He who entertains a guest with music and feasting will give him pleasure, and make him unwilling to depart; but should he open his mouth and speak to him of God, ah! how tasteless and unattractive his words would seem. But although what we see and hear of God is so dim and indistinct, yet His power, to those who seek to use it, is inexhaustible.

CHAPTER XXXVI

That which is about to contract must be in a state of expansion.

That which is about to become weak must be strong.

That which is about to fall down must stand up.

That which is about to be stolen must be in its place.

All this is but a vague way of saying: Austerity is overcome by gentleness, and strength is vanquished by weakness. Hence it would be as idle to attempt the reformation of a State by severe measures, as it would be to try to catch fish in the depths of an abyss.

CHAPTER XXXVII

God is eternally at rest, yet there is nothing that he does not do.

If kings and princes would but hold fast to this, all under their rule would work out their own reformation. But if after they had done this it might be found necessary to act, I would control them by adopting, as far as possible, those pure and simple principles which belong to the Great Nameless One.

> The simple nature of the Nameless One
> Will free us from desire, and so give Peace,
> And peaceful States will govern best themselves.

END OF PART ONE

TAO-TEH KING

Part One [1]

(A SECOND TRANSLATION, FOLLOWING CLOSELY THE CHINESE WORDING)

CHAPTER I [2]

1. The Tao that can be trodden is not the enduring and unchanging Tao. The name that can be named is not the enduring and unchanging name.

2. Conceived of as having no name, it is the Originator of heaven and earth; conceived of as having a name, it is the Mother of all things.

3. Always without desire we must be found,
If its deep mystery we would sound;
But if desire always within us be,
Its outer fringe is all that we shall see.

4. Under these two aspects, it is really the same; but as development takes place, it receives the different names. Together we call them the Mystery. Where the Mystery is the deepest is the gate of all that is subtle and wonderful.

CHAPTER II

1. All in the world know the beauty of the beautiful, and in doing this they have the idea of what ugliness is; they all know the skill of the skilful, and in doing this they have the idea of what the want of skill is.

2. So it is that existence and non-existence give birth the one to the idea of the other; that difficulty and ease produce

[1] Translated by Prof. James Legge.

[2] This chapter is named "Embodying the Tao." The author sets forth, as well as the difficulty of his subject would allow him, the nature of the Tao in itself, and its manifestation. To understand the Tao one must be partaker of its nature.

the one the idea of the other; that length and shortness fashion out the one the figure of the other; that the ideas of height and lowness arise from the contrast of the one with the other; that the musical notes and tones become harmonious through the relation of one with another; and that being before and behind give the idea of one following another.[3]

3. Therefore the sage manages affairs without doing anything, and conveys his instructions without the use of speech.

4. All things spring up, and there is not one which declines to show itself; they grow, and there is no claim made for their ownership; they go through their processes, and there is no expectation of a reward for the results. The work is accomplished, and there is no resting in it as an achievement.

> The work is done, but how no one can see;
> 'Tis this that makes the power not cease to be.

CHAPTER III [4]

1. Not to value and employ men of superior ability is the way to keep the people from rivalry among themselves; not to prize articles which are difficult to procure is the way to keep them from becoming thieves; not to show them what is likely to excite their desires is the way to keep their minds from disorder.

2. Therefore the sage, in the exercise of his government, empties their minds, fills their bellies, weakens their wills, and strengthens their bones.

3. He constantly tries to keep them without knowledge and without desire, and where there are those who have knowledge, to keep them from presuming to act on it. When there is this abstinence from action, good order is universal.

[3] Paragraph 2 should be rhymed, but I could not succeed to my satisfaction in the endeavor to rhyme it.

[4] Called "Keeping the People at Rest." The object of the chapter is to show that government according to the Tao is unfavorable to the spread of knowledge among the people, and would keep them rather in the state of primitive simplicity and ignorance, thereby securing their restfulness and universal good order. Such is the uniform teaching of Lao-Tze and his great follower Chuang-Tze, and of all Taoist writers.

CHAPTER IV

1. The Tao is like the emptiness of a vessel; and in our employment of it we must be on our guard against all fulness. How deep and unfathomable it is, as if it were the Honored Ancestor of all things!

2. We should blunt our sharp points, and unravel the complications of things; we should attemper our brightness, and bring ourselves into agreement with the obscurity of others. How pure and still the Tao is, as if it would ever so continue!

3. I do not know whose son it is. It might appear to have been before God.

CHAPTER V [5]

1. Heaven and earth do not act from the impulse of any wish to be benevolent; they deal with all things as the dogs of grass are dealt with. The sages do not act from any wish to be benevolent; they deal with the people as the dogs of grass are dealt with.

2. May not the space between heaven and earth be compared to a bellows?

'Tis emptied, yet it loses not its power;
'Tis moved again, and sends forth air the more.
Much speech to swift exhaustion lead we see;
Your inner being guard, and keep it free.

CHAPTER VI [6]

The valley spirit dies not, aye the same;
The female mystery thus do we name.

[5] Called "The Use of Emptiness." Quiet and unceasing is the operation of the Tao, and effective is the rule of the sage in accordance with it.

The grass-dogs in paragraph 1 were made of straw tied up in the shape of dogs, and used in praying for rain; and afterward, when the sacrifice was over, were thrown aside and left uncared for. Heaven and earth and the sages dealt so with all things and with the people.

[6] Called "The Completion of Material Forms." This title rightly expresses the import of this enigmatical chapter; but there is a foundation laid in it for the development of the later Taoism, which occupies itself

Its gate, from which at first they issued forth,
Is called the root from which grew heaven and earth.
Long and unbroken does its power remain,
Used gently, and without the touch of pain.

CHAPTER VII [7]

1. Heaven is long-enduring, and earth continues long. The reason why heaven and earth are able to endure and continue thus long is because they do not live of, or for, themselves. This is how they are able to continue and endure.

2. Therefore the sage puts his own person last, and yet it is found in the foremost place; he treats his person as if it were foreign to him, and yet that person is preserved. Is it not because he has no personal and private ends, that therefore such ends are realized?

CHAPTER VIII

1. The highest excellence is like that of water. The excellence of water appears in its benefiting all things, and in its occupying, without striving to the contrary, the low place which all men dislike. Hence its way is near to that of the Tao.

2. The excellence of a residence is in the suitability of

with the prolongation of life by the management of the breath or vital force.

"The valley" is used metaphorically as a symbol of "emptiness" or "vacancy"; and "the spirit of the valley" is the something invisible, yet almost personal, belonging to the Tao, which constitutes the Teh in the name of our king. "The spirit of the valley" has come to be a name for the activity of the Tao in all the realm of its operation. "The female mystery" is the Tao with a name of chapter 1, which is "the Mother of all things." All living beings have a father and mother. The processes of generation and production can hardly be imagined by us but by a recognition of this fact; and so Lao-tze thought of the existing realm of nature — of life — as coming through an evolution (not a creation) from the primal air or breath, dividing into two, and thence appearing in the forms of things, material and immaterial.

[7] Called "Sheathing the Light." The chapter teaches that one's best good is realized by not thinking of it, or seeking for it. Heaven and earth afford a pattern to the sage, and the sage affords a pattern to all men.

the place; that of the mind is in abysmal stillness; that of associations is in their being with the virtuous; that of government is in its securing good order; that of the conduct of affairs is in its ability; and that of the initiation of any movement is in its timeliness.

3. And when one with the highest excellence does not wrangle about his low position, no one finds fault with him.

CHAPTER IX

1. It is better to leave a vessel unfilled, than to attempt to carry it when it is full. If you keep feeling a point that has been sharpened, the point can not long preserve its sharpness.

2. When gold and jade fill the hall, their possessor can not keep them safe. When wealth and honors lead to arrogancy, this brings its evil on itself. When the work is done, and one's name is becoming distinguished, to withdraw into obscurity is the way of Heaven.

CHAPTER X [8]

1. When the intelligent and animal souls are held together in one embrace, they can be kept from separating. When one gives undivided attention to the vital breath, and brings it to the utmost degree of pliancy, he can become as a tender babe. When he has cleansed away the most mysterious sights of his imagination, he can become without a flaw.

[8] Called "Possibilities." This chapter is one of the most difficult to understand and translate in the whole work. Even Chu Hsi was not able to explain the first member satisfactorily. The text of that member seems well supported; but I am persuaded the first clause of it is somehow corrupt.

The whole seems to tell what can be accomplished by one who is possessed of the Tao. In paragraph 3 he appears free from all self-consciousness in what he does, and of all self-satisfaction in the results of his doing. The other two paragraphs seem to speak of what he can do under the guidance of the Tao for himself and for others. He can by his management of his vital breath bring his body to the state of Taoistic perfection, and keep his intelligent and animal souls from being separated, and he can rule men without purpose and effort. "The gates of heaven" in paragraph 2 is a Taoistic phrase for the nostrils as the organ of the breath.

2. In loving the people and ruling the State, can not he proceed without any purpose of action? In the opening and shutting of his gates of heaven, can not he do so as a female bird? While his intelligence reaches in every direction, can not he appear to be without knowledge?

3. The Tao produces all things and nourishes them; it produces them and does not claim them as its own; it does all, and yet does not boast of it; it presides over all, and yet does not control them. This is what is called "The mysterious Quality" of the Tao.

CHAPTER XI

The thirty spokes unite in the one nave; but it is on the empty space for the axle, that the use of the wheel depends. Clay is fashioned into vessels; but it is on their empty hollowness, that their use depends. The door and windows are cut out from the walls to form an apartment; but it is on the empty space within, that its use depends. Therefore, what has a positive existence serves for profitable adaptation, and what has not that for actual usefulness.

CHAPTER XII [9]

1. Color's five hues from th' eyes their sight will take;
Music's five notes the ears as deaf can make;
The flavors five deprive the mouth of taste;
The chariot course, and the wild hunting waste
Make mad the mind; and objects rare and strange,
Sought for, men's conduct will to evil change.

2. Therefore the sage seeks to satisfy the craving of the belly, and not the insatiable longing of the eyes. He puts from him the latter, and prefers to seek the former.

[9] Called "The Repression of the Desires." Government in accordance with the Tao seeks to withdraw men from the attractions of what is external and pleasant to the senses and imagination, and to maintain the primitive simplicity of men's ways and manners. The five colors are Black, Red, Green or Blue, White, and Yellow; the five notes are those of the imperfect Chinese musical scale, our G, A, B, D, E; the five tastes are Salt, Bitter, Sour, Acrid, and Sweet.

CHAPTER XIII

1. Favor and disgrace would seem equally to be feared; honor and great calamity, to be regarded as personal conditions of the same kind.

2. What is meant by speaking thus of favor and disgrace? Disgrace is being in a low position after the enjoyment of favor. The getting that favor leads to the apprehension of losing it, and the losing it leads to the fear of still greater calamity: this is what is meant by saying that favor and disgrace would seem equally to be feared.

And what is meant by saying that honor and great calamity are to be similarly regarded as personal conditions? What makes me liable to great calamity is my having the body which I call myself; if I had not the body, what great calamity could come to me?

3. Therefore he who would administer the kingdom, honoring it as he honors his own person, may be employed to govern it, and he who would administer it with the love which he bears to his own person may be entrusted with it.

CHAPTER XIV [10]

1. We look at it, and we do not see it, and we name it "the Equable." We listen to it, and we do not hear it, and we name it "the Inaudible." We try to grasp it, and do not get hold of it, and we name it "the Subtle." With these three qualities, it can not be made the subject of description; and hence we blend them together and obtain The One.

2. Its upper part is not bright, and its lower part is not obscure. Ceaseless in its action, it yet can not be named, and then it again returns and becomes nothing. This is

[10] Called "The Manifestation of the Mystery." The subject of paragraph 1 is the Tao, but the Tao in its operation, and not the primal conception of it, as entirely distinct from things, which rises before the mind in the second paragraph. The Chinese characters which I have translated "the Equable," "the Inaudible," and "the Subtle," are now pronounced *I*, *Hi*, and *Wei*, and in 1823 Rémusat fancied that they were intended to give the Hebrew tetragrammaton which he thought had come to Lao-tze somehow from the West, or been found by him there.

called the Form of the Formless, and the Semblance of the Invisible; this is called the Fleeting and Indeterminable.

3. We meet it and do not see its Front; we follow it, and do not see its Back. When we can lay hold of the Tao of old to direct the things of the present day, and are able to know it as it was of old in the beginning, this is called unwinding the clue of Tao.

CHAPTER XV

1. The skilful masters of the Tao in old times, with a subtle and exquisite penetration, comprehended its mysteries, and were deep also so as to elude men's knowledge. As they were thus beyond men's knowledge, I will make an effort to describe of what sort they appeared to be.

2. Shrinking looked they like those who wade through a stream in winter; irresolute like those who are afraid of all around them; grave like a guest in awe of his host; evanescent like ice that is melting away; unpretentious like wood that has not been fashioned into anything; vacant like a valley, and dull like muddy water.

3. Who can make the muddy water clear? Let it be still, and it will gradually become clear. Who can secure the condition of rest? Let movement go on, and the condition of rest will gradually arise.

4. They who preserve this method of the Tao do not wish to be full of themselves. It is through their not being full of themselves that they can afford to seem worn and not appear new and complete.

CHAPTER XVI [11]

1. The state of vacancy should be brought to the utmost degree, and that of stillness guarded with unwearying vigor.

[11] Called "Returning to the Root." The chapter exhibits the operation of the Tao in nature, in man, and in government; an operation silent, but all-powerful; unaccompanied with any demonstration of its presence, but great in its results.

The getting to possess the Tao, or to be an embodiment of it, follows the becoming Heaven or Heaven-like; and this is in accordance with the saying in the fourth chapter that "the Tao might seem to have been

All things alike go through their processes of activity, and then we see them return to their original state. When things in the vegetable world have displayed their luxuriant growth, we see them return to its root. This returning to their root is what we call the state of stillness; and that stillness may be called a reporting that they have fulfilled their appointed end.

2. The report of that fulfilment is the regular, unchanging rule. To know that unchanging rule is to be intelligent; not to know it leads to wild movements and evil issues. The knowledge of that unchanging rule produces a grand capacity and forbearance, and that capacity and forbearance lead to a community of feeling with all things. From this community of feeling comes a kingliness of character; and he who is king-like goes on to be heaven-like. In that likeness to heaven he possesses the Tao. Possessed of the Tao, he endures long; and to the end of his bodily life, is exempt from all danger of decay.

CHAPTER XVII [12]

1. In the highest antiquity, the people did not know that there were their rulers. In the next age they loved them and praised them. In the next they feared them; in the next they despised them. Thus it was that when faith in the Tao was deficient in the rulers a want of faith in them ensued in the people.

2. How irresolute did those earliest rulers appear, showing by their reticence the importance which they set upon their words! Their work was done and their undertakings

before God." But, in Chuang-tze especially, we often find the full possessor and displayer of the Tao spoken of as "Heaven." The last sentence, that he who has come to the full possession of the Tao is exempt from all danger of decay, is generally illustrated by a reference to the utterances in chapter L; as if Lao-tze did indeed see in the Tao a preservative against death.

[12] Called "The Unadulterated Influence." The influence is that of the Tao, as seen in the earliest and paradisiacal times. The two chapters that follow are closely connected with this, showing how the silent, passionless influence of the Tao was gradually and injuriously superseded by "the wisdom of the world," in the conduct of government.

were successful, while the people all said, "We are as we are, of ourselves!"

CHAPTER XVIII

1. When the Great Tao (Way or Method) ceased to be observed, benevolence and righteousness came into vogue. Then appeared wisdom and shrewdness, and there ensued great hypocrisy.

2. When harmony no longer prevailed throughout the six kinships, filial sons found their manifestation; when the States and clans fell into disorder, loyal ministers appeared.

CHAPTER XIX

1. If we could renounce our sageness and discard our wisdom, it would be better for the people a hundredfold. If we could renounce our benevolence and discard our righteousness, the people would again become filial and kindly. If we could renounce our artful contrivances and discard our scheming for gain, there would be no thieves nor robbers.

2. Those three methods of government
Thought olden ways in elegance did fail
And made these names their want of worth to veil;
But simple views, and courses plain and true
Would selfish ends and many lusts eschew.

CHAPTER XX [13]

1. When we renounce learning we have no troubles.
The ready "yes," and flattering "yea"; —
Small is the difference they display.
But mark their issues, good and ill —
What space the gulf between shall fill?

[13] Called "Being Different from Ordinary Men." The chapter sets forth the difference to external appearance which the pursuit and observance of the Tao produce between its votaries and others; and Lao-tze speaks in it as himself an example of the former. In the last three chapters he has been advocating the cause of the Tao against the learning and philosophy of the other school of thinkers in the country. Here he appears as having renounced learning, and found an end to the troubles and anxieties of his own mind; but at the expense of being misconceived and misrepresented by others. Hence the chapter has an autobiographical character.

What all men fear is indeed to be feared; but how wide and without end is the range of questions asking to be discussed!

2. The multitude of men look satisfied and pleased; as if enjoying a full banquet, as if mounted on a tower in spring. I alone seem listless and still, my desires having as yet given no indication of their presence. I am like an infant which has not yet smiled. I look rejected and forlorn, as if I had no home to go to. The multitude of men all have enough and to spare. I alone seem to have lost everything. My mind is that of a stupid man; I am in a state of chaos.

Ordinary men look bright and intelligent, while I alone seem to be benighted. They look full of discrimination, while I alone am dull and confused. I seem to be carried about as on the sea, drifting as if I had nowhere to rest. All men have their spheres of action, while I alone seem dull and incapable, like a rude borderer. Thus I alone am different from other men, but I value the nursing-mother, the Tao.

CHAPTER XXI [14]

The grandest forms of active force
From Tao come, their only source.
Who can of Tao the nature tell?
Our sight it flies, our touch as well.
Eluding sight, eluding touch,
The forms of things all in it crouch;
Eluding touch, eluding sight,
There are their semblances, all right.
Profound it is, dark and obscure;
Things' essences all there endure.

[14] Called "The Empty Heart." The subject of the chapter is the Tao in its operation. Lao-tze's mind is occupied with a very difficult subject — to describe the production of material forms by the Tao; how or from what, he does not say. What I have rendered "semblances," Julien "*les images*," and Chalmers "forms," seems, as the latter says, in some way to correspond to the "Eternal Ideas" of Plato in the Divine Mind.

Those essences the truth enfold
Of what, when seen, shall then be told.
Now it is so; 'twas so of old.
Its name — what passes not away;
So, in their beautiful array,
Things form and never know decay.

How know I that it is so with all the beauties of existing things? By this nature of the Tao.

CHAPTER XXII [15]

1. The partial becomes complete; the crooked, straight; the empty, full; the worn out, new. He whose desires are few gets them; he whose desires are many goes astray.

2. Therefore the sage holds in his embrace the one thing of humility, and manifests it to all the world. He is free from self-display, and therefore he shines; from self-assertion, and therefore he is distinguished; from self-boasting, and therefore his merit is acknowledged; from self-complacency, and therefore he acquires superiority. It is because he is thus free from striving that therefore no one in the world is able to strive with him.

3. That saying of the ancients that "the partial becomes complete" was not vainly spoken: all real completion is comprehended under it.

CHAPTER XXIII

1. Abstaining from speech marks him who is obeying the spontaneity of his nature. A violent wind does not last for a whole morning; a sudden rain does not last for the whole day. To whom is it that these two things are owing? To Heaven and Earth. If Heaven and Earth can not make

[15] Called "The Increase granted to Humility." The first clause was an old saying, which Lao-tze found and adopted. Whether it was intended to embrace all the cases which are mentioned may be questioned, but he employs it so as to make it do so. "The emptiness" which becomes full is literally the hollowness of a cavity in the ground which is sure to be filled by overflowing water. "The worn out" is explained by the withered foliage of a tree, which comes out new and fresh in the next spring.

such spasmodic actings last long, how much less can man!

2. Therefore when one is making the Tao his business, those who are also pursuing it agree with him in it, and those who are making the manifestation of its course their object agree with him in that; while even those who are failing in both these things agree with him where they fail.

3. Hence, those with whom he agrees as to the Tao have the happiness of attaining to it; those with whom he agrees as to its manifestation have the happiness of attaining to it; and those with whom he agrees in their failure have also the happiness of attaining to the Tao. But when there is not faith sufficient on his part, a want of faith in him ensues on the part of the others.

CHAPTER XXIV

1. He who stands on his tiptoes does not stand firm; he who stretches his legs does not walk easily. So, he who displays himself does not shine; he who asserts his own views is not distinguished; he who vaunts himself does not find his merit acknowledged; he who is self-conceited has no superiority allowed to him. Such conditions, viewed from the standpoint of the Tao, are like remnants of food, or a tumor on the body, which all dislike. Hence those who pursue the course of the Tao do not adopt and allow them.

CHAPTER XXV [16]

1. There was something undefined and complete, coming into existence before Heaven and Earth. How still it was

[16] Called "Representations of the Mystery." In this chapter Lao approaches very near to give an answer to the question as to what the Tao is, and yet leaves the reader disappointed. He commences by calling it "a thing"; but that term does not necessitate our regarding it as "material." We have seen in the preceding chapter that it is used to signify "spirits and men." Nor does his going on to speak of it as "chaotic" necessarily lead us to conceive it as made up of the "material elements of things"; we have the same term applied in chapter XIV to the three immaterial constituents there said to be blended in the idea of it.

"He does not know its name," and he designates it by the term denoting a "course" or "way," Tao, and indicating the phenomenal attribute,

and formless, standing alone, and undergoing no change, reaching everywhere and in no danger of being exhausted! It may be regarded as the Mother of all things.

2. I do not know its name, and I give it the designation of the Tao (the Way or Course). Making an effort further to give it a name I call it The Great.

3. Great, it passes on in constant flow. Passing on, it becomes remote. Having become remote, it returns. Therefore the Tao is great; Heaven is great; Earth is great; and the sage king is also great. In the universe there are four that are great, and the sage king is one of them.

4. Man takes his law from the Earth; the Earth takes its law from Heaven; Heaven takes its law from the Tao. The law of the Tao is its being what it is.

CHAPTER XXVI

1. Gravity is the root of lightness; stillness, the ruler of movement.

2. Therefore a wise prince, marching the whole day, does not go far from his baggage-wagons. Although he may have brilliant prospects to look at, he quietly remains in his proper place, indifferent to them. How should the lord of a myriad chariots carry himself lightly before the kingdom? If he do act lightly, he has lost his root of gravity; if he proceed to active movement, he will lose his throne.

CHAPTER XXVII

1. The skilful traveler leaves no traces of his wheels or

the method in which all phenomena come before our observation, in their development or evolution. And yet, when he says "it was before Heaven and Earth were produced," he comes very near his affirmations in chapters I and IV, that "the nameless Tao was the beginning (or originating cause) of Heaven and Earth," and "might seem to have been before God." Was he groping after God if haply he might find Him? I think he was, and he gets so far as to conceive of Him as "the Uncaused Cause," but comes short of the idea of His personality. The other subordinate causes which he mentions all get their force or power from the Tao, but after all the Tao is simply a spontaneity, evolving from itself, and not acting from a personal will, consciously in the direction of its own wisdom and love.

footsteps; the skilful speaker says nothing that can be found fault with or blamed; the skilful reckoner uses no tallies; the skilful closer needs no bolts or bars, while to open what he has shut will be impossible; the skilful binder uses no strings or knots, while to unloose what he has bound will be impossible. In the same way the sage is always skilful at saving men, and so does not cast away any man; he is always skilful at saving things, and so he does not cast away anything. This is called "Hiding the light of his procedure."

2. Therefore the man of skill is a master to be looked up to by him who has not the skill; and he who has not the skill is the helper of the reputation of him who has the skill. If the one did not honor his master, and the other did not rejoice in his helper, an observer, though intelligent, might greatly err about them. This is called "The utmost degree of mystery."

CHAPTER XXVIII [17]

1. Who knows his manhood's strength,
Yet still his female feebleness maintains;
As to one channel flow the many drains,
All come to him, yea, all beneath the sky.
Thus he the constant excellence retains —
The simple child again, free from all stains.

Who knows how white attracts,
Yet always keeps himself within black's shade,
The pattern of humility displayed,
Displayed in view of all beneath the sky;
He in the unchanging excellence arrayed,
Endless return to man's first state has made.

Who knows how glory shines,
Yet loves disgrace, nor e'er for it is pale;

[17] "Returning to Simplicity." The chapter sets forth humility and simplicity, an artless freedom from all purpose, as characteristic of the man of Tao, such as he was in the primeval time. "The sage" in paragraph 2 may be "The Son of Heaven"— the Head of all rule in the kingdom, or the feudal lord in a State.

Behold his presence in a spacious vale,
To which men come from all beneath the sky.
The unchanging excellence completes its tale;
The simple infant man in him we hail.

2. The unwrought material, when divided and distributed, forms vessels. The sage, when employed, becomes the Head of all the Officers of government; and in his greatest regulations he employs no violent measures.

CHAPTER XXIX [18]

1. If any one should wish to get the kingdom for himself, and to effect this by what he does, I see that he will not succeed. The kingdom is a spirit-like thing, and can not be got by active doing. He who would so win it destroys it; he who would hold it in his grasp loses it.

2. The course and nature of things are such that

What was in front is now behind;
What warmed anon we freezing find.
Strength is of weakness oft the spoil;
The store in ruins mocks our toil.

Hence the sage puts away excessive effort, extravagance, and easy indulgence.

CHAPTER XXX

1. He who would assist a lord of men in harmony with the Tao will not assert his mastery in the kingdom by force of arms. Such a course is sure to meet with its proper return.

2. Wherever a host is stationed, briars and thorns spring up. In the sequence of great armies there are sure to be bad years.

[18] Called "Taking no Action." All efforts made with a purpose are sure to fail. The nature of the Tao necessitates their doing so, and the uncertainty of things and events teaches the same lesson.

That the kingdom or throne is a "spirit-like vessel" has become a common enough saying among the Chinese. The idea in the text is based on the immunity of spirit from all material law, and the uncertain issue of attempts to deal with it according to ordinary methods.

3. A skilful commander strikes a decisive blow, and stops. He does not dare by continuing his operations to assert and complete his mastery. He will strike the blow, but will be on his guard against being vain or boastful or arrogant in consequence of it. He strikes it as a matter of necessity; he strikes it, but not from a wish for mastery.

4. When things have attained their strong maturity they become old. This may be said to be not in accordance with the Tao: and what is not in accordance with it soon comes to an end.

CHAPTER XXXI

1. Now arms, however beautiful, are instruments of evil omen, hateful, it may be said, to all creatures. Therefore they who have the Tao do not like to employ them.

2. The superior man ordinarily considers the left hand the most honorable place, but in time of war the right hand. Those sharp weapons are instruments of evil omen, and not the instruments of the superior man — he uses them only on the compulsion of necessity. Calm and repose are what he prizes; victory by force of arms is to him undesirable. To consider this desirable would be to delight in the slaughter of men; and he who delights in the slaughter of men can not get his will in the kingdom.

3. On occasions of festivity to be on the left hand is the prized position; on occasions of mourning, the right hand. The second in command of the army has his place on the left; the general commanding in chief has his on the right — his place, that is, is assigned to him as in the rites of mourning. He who has killed multitudes of men should weep for them with the bitterest grief; and the victor in battle has his place rightly according to those rites.

CHAPTER XXXII

1. The Tao, considered as unchanging, has no name.

2. Though in its primordial simplicity it may be small, the whole world dares not deal with one embodying it as a minis-

ter. If a feudal prince or the king could guard and hold it, all would spontaneously submit themselves to him.[19]

3. Heaven and Earth under its guidance unite together and send down the sweet dew, which, without the directions of men, reaches equally everywhere as of its own accord.

4. As soon as it proceeds to action, it has a name. When it once has that name, men can know to rest in it. When they know to rest in it, they can be free from all risk of failure and error.

5. The relation of the Tao to all the world is like that of the great rivers and seas to the streams from the valleys.

CHAPTER XXXIII [20]

1. He who knows other men is discerning; he who knows himself is intelligent. He who overcomes others is strong; he who overcomes himself is mighty. He who is satisfied with his lot is rich; he who goes on acting with energy has a firm will.

2. He who does not fail in the requirements of his position continues long; he who dies and yet does not perish has longevity.

CHAPTER XXXIV

1. All-pervading is the great Tao! It may be found on the left hand and on the right.

2. All things depend on it for their production, which it gives to them, not one refusing obedience to it. When its

[19] The "primordial simplicity" in paragraph 2 is the Tao in its simplest conception, alone, and by itself, and in paragraph 4 is that Tao come forth into operation and become *Teh*, the *Teh* which affords a law for men. From this to the end of the paragraph is very obscure.

[20] Called "Discriminating between different Attributes." The teaching of the chapter is that the possession of the Tao confers the various attributes which are here most distinguished. It has been objected to it that elsewhere the Tao is represented as associated with dulness and not intelligence, and with weakness and not with strength. But these seem to be qualities viewed from without, and acting on what is beyond itself. Inwardly, its qualities are the very opposite, and its action has the effect of enlightening what is dark, and overcoming what is strong. No doubt, Lao-tze believed in another life for the individual after the present. Many passages in Chuang-tze indicate the same faith.

work is accomplished, it does not claim the name of having done it. It clothes all things as with a garment, and makes no assumption of being their lord — it may be named in the smallest things. All things return to their root and disappear, and do not know that it is it which presides over their doing so — it may be named in the greatest things.

3. Hence the sage is able in the same way to accomplish his great achievements. It is through his not making himself great that he can accomplish them.

CHAPTER XXXV

1. To him who holds in his hands the Great Image of the invisible Tao, the whole world repairs. Men resort to him, and receive no hurt, but find rest, peace, and the feeling of ease.

2. Music and dainties will make the passing guest stop for a time. But though the Tao, as it comes from the mouth, seems insipid and has no flavor, though it seems not worth being looked at or listened to, the use of it is inexhaustible.

CHAPTER XXXVI [21]

1. When one is about to take an inspiration, he is sure to make a previous expiration; when he is going to weaken another, he will first strengthen him; when he is going to overthrow another, he will first have raised him up; when he is going to despoil another, he will first have made gifts to him — this is called "Hiding the light of his procedure."

2. The soft overcomes the hard; and the weak the strong.

3. Fishes should not be taken from the deep; instruments for the profit of a State should not be shown to the people.

[21] Called "Minimizing the Light." Paragraph 3 is the most frequently quoted of all the passages in our King, unless it be the first part of chapter I. Fishes taken from the deep, and brought into shallow water, can be easily taken or killed; that is plain enough. "The sharp instruments of a State" are not its "weapons of war," nor its "treasures," nor its "instruments of government," that is, its rewards and punishments. These should not be shown to the people, whom the Taoistic system would keep in a state of primitive simplicity and ignorance. In no other way can I explain the paragraph so as to justify the place undoubtedly belonging to it in the system.

CHAPTER XXXVII

1. The Tao in its regular course does nothing for the sake of doing it, and so there is nothing which it does not do.

2. If princes and kings were able to maintain it, all things would of themselves be transformed by them.

3. If this transformation became to me an object of desire, I would express the desire by the nameless simplicity.

Simplicity without a name
Is free from all external aim.
With no desire, at rest and still,
All things go right as of their will.

END OF PART ONE

TAO-TEH KING

Part Two

CHAPTER XXXVIII [22]

1. Those who possessed in highest degree the attributes of the Tao did not seek to show them, and therefore they possessed them in fullest measure. Those who possessed in a lower degree those attributes sought how not to lose them, and therefore they did not possess them in fullest measure.

2. Those who possessed in the highest degree those attributes did nothing with a purpose, and had no need to do anything. Those who possessed them in a lower degree were always doing, and had need to be so doing.

3. Those who possessed the highest benevolence were always seeking to carry it out, and had no need to be doing so. Those who possessed the highest righteousness were always seeking to carry it out, and had need to be so doing.

4. Those who possessed the highest sense of propriety were always seeking to show it, and when men did not respond to it they bared the arm and marched up to them.

5. Thus it was that when the Tao was lost, its attributes appeared; when its attributes were lost, benevolence appeared; when benevolence was lost, righteousness appeared; and when righteousness was lost, the proprieties appeared.

6. Now propriety is the attenuated form of leal-heartedness and good faith, and is also the commencement of dis-

[22] Called "About the Attributes"; of Tao, that is. It is not easy to render *teh* here by any other English term than "virtue," and yet there would be a danger of its thus misleading us in the interpretation of the chapter. The "virtue" is the activity or operation of the Tao, which is supposed to have come out of its absoluteness. In paragraph 5 we evidently have a *résumé* of the preceding paragraphs, and, as it is historical, I translate them in the past tense; though what took place on the early stage of the world may also be said to go on taking place in the experience of every individual.

order; swift apprehension is only a flower of the Tao, and is the beginning of stupidity.

7. Thus it is that the Great man abides by what is solid, and eschews what is flimsy; dwells with the fruit and not with the flower. It is thus that he puts away the one and makes choice of the other.

CHAPTER XXXIX [23]

1. The things which from of old have got the One (the Tao) are —

Heaven which by it is bright and pure;
Earth rendered thereby firm and sure;
Spirits with powers by it supplied;
Valleys kept full throughout their void;
All creatures which through it do live;
Princes and kings who from it get
The model which to all they give.

All these are the results of the One (Tao).

2. If heaven were not thus pure, it soon would rend;
If earth were not thus sure, 'twould break and bend;
Without these powers, the spirits soon would fail;
If not so filled, the drought would parch each vale;
Without that life, creatures would pass away;
Princes and kings, without that moral sway,
However grand and high, would all decay.

3. Thus it is that dignity finds its firm root in its previous meanness, and what is lofty finds its stability in the lowness from which it rises. Hence princes and kings call themselves "Orphans," "Men of small virtue," and as "Carriages without a nave." Is not this an acknowledgment that in their considering themselves mean they see the foundation of their dignity? So it is that in the enumeration of the

[23] Called "The Origin of the Law." In this title there is a reference to the Law given to all things by the Tao, as described in the conclusion of chapter xxv. And the Tao affords that law by its passionless, undemonstrative nature, through which in its spontaneity, doing nothing for the sake of doing, it yet does all things.

different parts of a carriage we do not come on what makes it answer the ends of a carriage. They do not wish to show themselves elegant-looking as jade, but prefer to be coarse-looking as an ordinary stone.

CHAPTER XL [24]

1. The movement of the Tao
By contraries proceeds;
And weakness marks the course
Of Tao's mighty deeds.

2. All things under heaven sprang from It as existing and named; that existence sprang from It as non-existent and not named.

CHAPTER XLI

1. Scholars of the highest class, when they hear about the Tao, earnestly carry it into practise. Scholars of the middle class, when they have heard about it, seem now to keep it and now to lose it. Scholars of the lowest class, when they have heard about it, laugh greatly at it. If it were not thus laughed at, it would not be fit to be the Tao.

2. Therefore the sentence-makers have thus expressed themselves:

"The Tao, when brightest seen, seems light to lack;
Who progress in it makes, seems drawing back;
Its even way is like a rugged track.
Its highest virtue from the vale doth rise;
Its greatest beauty seems to offend the eyes;
And he has most whose lot the least supplies.
Its firmest virtue seems but poor and low;
Its solid truth seems change to undergo;
Its largest square doth yet no corner show;
A vessel great, it is the slowest made;
Loud is its sound, but never word it said;
A semblance great, the shadow of a shade."

[24] Called "Dispensing with the Use of Means"— with their use, that is, as it appears to us. The subject of the brief chapter is the action of the Tao by contraries, leading to a result the opposite of what existed previously, and by means which might seem calculated to produce a contrary result.

3. The Tao is hidden, and has no name; but it is the Tao which is skilful at imparting to all things what they need and making them complete.

CHAPTER XLII [25]

1. The Tao produced One; One produced Two; Two produced Three; Three produced All things. All things leave behind them the Obscurity out of which they have come, and go forward to embrace the Brightness into which they have emerged, while they are harmonized by the Breath of Vacancy.

2. What men dislike is to be orphans, to have little virtue, to be as carriages without naves; and yet these are the designations which kings and princes use for themselves. So it is that some things are increased by being diminished, and others are diminished by being increased.

3. What other men thus teach, I also teach. The violent and strong do not die their natural death. I will make this the basis of my teaching.

CHAPTER XLIII [26]

1. The softest thing in the world dashes against and overcomes the hardest; that which has no substantial existence enters where there is no crevice. I know hereby what advantage belongs to doing nothing with a purpose.

[25] Called "The Transformations of the Tao." In paragraph 2 we have the case of the depreciating epithets given to themselves by kings and princes, which we found before in chapter XXXIX. and a similar lesson is drawn from it. Such depreciation leads to exaltation, and the contrary course of self-exaltation leads to abasement. This latter case is stated emphatically in paragraph 3, and Lao-tze says that it was the basis of his teaching.

[26] Called "The Universal Use (of the action in weakness of the Tao)." The chapter takes us back to the lines of chapter XL that

> "Weakness marks the course
> Of Tao's mighty deeds."

By "the softest thing in the world" it is agreed that we are to understand "water," which will wear away the hardest rocks. "Dashing against and overcoming" is a metaphor taken from hunting. Ho-shang Kung says that "what has no existence" is the Tao; it is better to understand by it the unsubstantial air which penetrates everywhere, we can not see how.

2. There are few in the world who attain to the teaching without words, and the advantage arising from non-action.

CHAPTER XLIV

1. Or fame or life,
   Which do you hold more dear?
   Or life or wealth,
   To which would you adhere?
   Keep life and lose those other things;
   Keep them and lose your life — which brings
   Sorrow and pain more near?

2. Thus we may see,
   Who cleaves to fame
   Rejects what is more great;
   Who loves large stores
   Gives up the richer state.

3. Who is content
   Needs fear no shame.
   Who knows to stop
   Incurs no blame.
   From danger free
   Long live shall he.

CHAPTER XLV

1. Who thinks his great achievements poor
   Shall find his vigor long endure.
   Of greatest fulness, deemed a void,
   Exhaustion ne'er shall stem the tide.
   Do thou what's straight still crooked deem;
   Thy greatest art still stupid seem,
   And eloquence a stammering scream.

2. Constant action overcomes cold; being still overcomes heat. Purity and stillness give the correct law to all under heaven.

CHAPTER XLVI

1. When the Tao prevails in the world, they send back their swift horses to draw the dung-carts. When the Tao is

disregarded in the world, the war-horses breed in the border lands.

2. There is no guilt greater than to sanction ambition; no calamity greater than to be discontented with one's lot; no fault greater than the wish to be getting. Therefore the sufficiency of contentment is an enduring and unchanging sufficiency.

CHAPTER XLVII [27]

1. Without going outside his door, one understands all that takes place under the sky; without looking out from his window, one sees the Tao of Heaven. The farther that one goes out from himself, the less he knows.

2. Therefore the sages got their knowledge without traveling; gave their right names to things without seeing them; and accomplished their ends without any purpose of doing so.

CHAPTER XLVIII [28]

1. He who devotes himself to learning seeks from day to

[27] Called "Surveying what is Far-off." The chapter is a lesson to men to judge of things according to their internal conviction of similar things in their own experience. Short as the chapter is, it is somewhat mystical. The phrase, "The Tao" or way of Heaven, occurs in it for the first time; and it is difficult to lay down its precise meaning. Lao-tze would seem to teach that man is a microcosm; and that, if he understand the movements of his own mind, he can understand the movements of all other minds.

[28] Called "Forgetting Knowledge"—the contrast between Learning and the Tao. It is only by the Tao that the world can be won.

Tsiao Hung commences his quotations of commentary on this chapter with the following: "He carries on the process of diminishing till there is nothing coarse about him which is not put away. He puts it away till he has forgotten all that was bad in it. He then puts away all that is fine about him. He does so till he has forgotten all that was good in it. But the bad was wrong, and the good is right. Having diminished the wrong, and also diminished the right, the process is carried on till they are both forgotten. Passion and desire are both cut off; and his virtue and the Tao are in such union that he does nothing; but though he does nothing, he allows all things to do their own doing, and all things are done." Such is a Buddhistic view of the passage, not very intelligible. In a passage in the "Narratives of the School" we have a Confucian view of the passage: "Let perspicacity, intelligence, shrewdness, and wisdom be guarded by stupidity, and the service of the possessor will affect the whole world; let them be guarded by

day to increase his knowledge; he who devotes himself to the Tao seeks from day to day to diminish his doing.

2. He diminishes it and again diminishes it, till he arrives at doing nothing on purpose. Having arrived at this point of non-action, there is nothing which he does not do.

3. He who gets as his own all under heaven does so by giving himself no trouble with that end. If one take trouble with that end, he is not equal to getting as his own all under heaven.

CHAPTER XLIX [29]

1. The sage has no invariable mind of his own; he makes the mind of the people his mind.

2. To those who are good to me, I am good; and to those who are not good to me, I am also good — and thus all get to be good. To those who are sincere with me, I am sincere; and to those who are not sincere with me, I am also sincere — and thus all get to be sincere.

3. The sage has in the world an appearance of indecision, and keeps his mind in a state of indifference to all. The people all keep their eyes and ears directed to him, and he deals with them all as his children.

CHAPTER L [30]

1. Men come forth and live; they enter again and die.

complaisance, and his daring and strength will shake the age; let them be guarded by timidity, and his wealth will be all within the four seas; let them be guarded by humility, and there will be what we call the method of 'diminishing it, and diminishing it again.'"

[29] Called "The Quality of Indulgence." The chapter shows how that quality enters largely into the dealing of the sage with other men, and exercises over them a transforming influence, dominated as it is in him by the Tao. A good commentary on the chapter was given by the last emperor but one of the earlier of the two great Sung dynasties, in the period A.D. 1111–1117: "The mind of the sage is free from pre-occupation and able to receive; still, and able to respond."

[30] Called "The Value set on Life." The chapter sets forth the Tao as an antidote against decay and death. In paragraph 1 life is presented to us as intermediate between two non-existences. "The ministers of life to themselves" would be those who eschewed all things, both internal and external, tending to injure health; "the ministers of death," those who pursued courses likely to cause disease and shorten

2. Of every ten three are ministers of life to themselves; and three are ministers of death.

3. There are also three in every ten whose aim is to live, but whose movements tend to the land or place of death. And for what reason? Because of their excessive endeavors to perpetuate life.

4. But I have heard that he who is skilful in managing the life entrusted to him for a time travels on the land without having to shun rhinoceros or tiger, and enters a host without having to avoid buff coat or sharp weapon. The rhinoceros finds no place in him into which to thrust its horn, nor the tiger a place in which to fix its claws, nor the weapon a place to admit its point. And for what reason? Because there is in him no place of death.

CHAPTER LI

1. All things are produced by the Tao, and nourished by its outflowing operation. They receive their forms according to the nature of each, and are completed according to the circumstances of their condition. Therefore all things without exception honor the Tao, and exalt its outflowing operation.

2. This honoring of the Tao and exalting of its operation are not the result of any ordination, but always a spontaneous tribute.

3. Thus it is that the Tao produces all things, nourishes them, brings them to their full growth, nurses them, completes them, matures them, maintains them, and overspreads them.

4. It produces them and makes no claim to the possession of them; it carries them through their processes and does not vaunt its ability in doing so; it brings them to maturity and exercises no control over them; this is called its mysterious operation.

life; the third three would be those who thought that by mysterious and abnormal courses they could prolong life, but only injured it. Those three classes being thus disposed of, there remains only one in ten rightly using the Tao.

CHAPTER LII [31]

1. The Tao which originated all under the sky is to be considered as the mother of them all.

2. When the mother is found, we know what her children should be. When one knows that he is his mother's child, and proceeds to guard the qualities of the mother that belong to him, to the end of his life he will be free from all peril.

3. Let him keep his mouth closed, and shut up the portals of his nostrils, and all his life he will be exempt from laborious exertion. Let him keep his mouth open, and spend his breath in the promotion of his affairs, and all his life there will be no safety for him.

4. The perception of what is small is the secret of clear-sightedness; the guarding of what is soft and tender is the secret of strength.

5. Who uses well his light,
Reverting to its source so bright,
Will from his body ward all blight,
And hides the unchanging from men's sight.

CHAPTER LIII

1. If I were suddenly to become known, and put into a position to conduct a government according to the Great Tao, what I should be most afraid of would be a boastful display.

2. The great Tao (or way) is very level and easy; but people love the byways.

3. Their courtyards and buildings shall be well kept, but their fields shall be ill-cultivated, and their granaries very empty. They shall wear elegant and ornamented robes, carry a sharp sword at their girdle, pamper themselves in eating and drinking, and have a superabundance of property

[31] Called "Returning to the Source." The meaning of the chapter is obscure, and the commentators give little help in determining it. As in the preceding chapter, Lao-tze treats of the operation of the Tao on material things, he seems in this to go on to the operation of it in man, or how he, with his higher nature, should ever be maintaining it in himself.

and wealth; such princes may be called robbers and boasters. This is contrary to the Tao surely!

CHAPTER LIV

1. What Tao's skilful planter plants
Can never be uptorn;
What his skilful arms enfold,
From him can ne'er be borne.
Sons shall bring in lengthening line
Sacrifices to his shrine.

2. Tao when nursed within one's self,
His vigor will make true;
And where the family it rules,
What riches will accrue!
The neighborhood where it prevails
In thriving will abound;
And when 'tis seen throughout the State,
Good fortune will be found.
Employ it the kingdom o'er,
And men thrive all around.

3. In this way the effect will be seen in the person, by the observation of different cases; in the family; in the neighborhood; in the State; and in the kingdom.

4. How do I know that this effect is sure to hold thus all under the sky? By this method of observation.

CHAPTER LV

1. He who has in himself abundantly the attributes of the Tao is like an infant. Poisonous insects will not sting him; fierce beasts will not seize him; birds of prey will not strike him.

2. The infant's bones are weak and its sinews soft, but yet its grasp is firm. It knows not yet the union of male and female, and yet its virile member may be excited — showing the perfection of its physical essence. All day long it will cry without its throat becoming hoarse — showing the harmony in its constitution.

3. To him by whom this harmony is known,
The secret of the unchanging Tao is shown,
And in the knowledge wisdom finds its throne.
All life-increasing arts to evil turn;
Where the mind makes the vital breath to burn,
False is the strength, and o'er it we should mourn.

4. When things have become strong, they then become old, which may be said to be contrary to the Tao. Whatever is contrary to the Tao soon ends.

CHAPTER LVI [32]

1. He who knows the Tao does not care to speak about it; he who is ever ready to speak about it does not know it.

2. He who knows it will keep his mouth shut and close the portals of his nostrils. He will blunt his sharp points and unravel the complications of things; he will attemper his brightness, and bring himself into agreement with the obscurity of others. This is called "the Mysterious Agreement."

3. Such a one can not be treated familiarly or distantly; he is beyond all consideration of profit or injury; of nobility or meanness — he is the noblest man under heaven.

CHAPTER LVII

1. A State may be ruled by measures of correction; weapons of war may be used with crafty dexterity; but the kingdom is made one's own only by freedom from action and purpose.

2. How do I know that it is so? By these facts: In the kingdom the multiplication of prohibitive enactments increases the poverty of the people; the more implements to add to their profit that the people have, the greater disorder is there in the State and clan; the more acts of crafty dexterity that men possess, the more do strange contrivances

[32] Called "The Mysterious Excellence." The chapter gives us a picture of the man of Tao, humble and retiring, oblivious of himself and of other men, the noblest man under heaven.

appear; the more display there is of legislation, the more thieves and robbers there are.

3. Therefore a sage has said, "I will do nothing of purpose, and the people will be transformed of themselves; I will be fond of keeping still, and the people will of themselves become correct. I will take no trouble about it, and the people will of themselves become rich; I will manifest no ambition, and the people will of themselves attain to the primitive simplicity."

CHAPTER LVIII

1. The government that seems the most unwise,
Oft goodness to the people best supplies;
That which is meddling, touching everything,
Will work but ill, and disappointment bring.

Misery! — happiness is to be found by its side! Happiness! — misery lurks beneath it! Who knows what either will come to in the end?

2. Shall we then dispense with correction? The method of correction shall by a turn become distortion, and the good in it shall by a turn become evil. The delusion of the people on this point has indeed subsisted for a long time.

3. Therefore the sage is like a square which cuts no one with its angles; like a corner which injures no one with its sharpness. He is straightforward, but allows himself no license; he is bright, but does not dazzle.

CHAPTER LIX [33]

1. For regulating the human in our constitution and ren-

[33] Called "Guarding the Tao." The chapter shows how it is the guarding of Tao that ensures a continuance of long life, with vigor and success. The abuse of it and other passages in our King helped on, I must believe, the later Taoist dreams about the *elixir vitae* and life-preserving pills. Paragraph 1 has been translated, "In governing men and in serving Heaven, there is nothing like moderation." But by "Heaven" there is not intended "the blue sky" above us, nor any personal Power above it, but the Tao embodied in our constitution, the Heavenly element in our nature. The "moderation" is the opposite of what we call "living fast," "burning the candle at both ends."

dering the proper service to the heavenly, there is nothing like moderation.

2. It is only by this moderation that there is effected an early return to man's normal state. That early return is what I call the repeated accumulation of the attributes of the Tao. With that repeated accumulation of those attributes, there comes the subjugation of every obstacle to such return. Of this subjugation we know not what shall be the limit; and when one knows not what the limit shall be, he may be the ruler of a State.

3. He who possesses the mother of the State may continue long. His case is like that of the plant of which we say that its roots are deep and its flower stalks firm — this is the way to secure that its enduring life shall long be seen.

CHAPTER LX

1. Governing a great State is like cooking small fish.

2. Let the kingdom be governed according to the Tao, and the manes of the departed will not manifest their spiritual energy. It is not that those manes have not that spiritual energy, but it will not be employed to hurt men. It is not that it could not hurt men, but neither does the ruling sage hurt them.[34]

3. When these two do not injuriously affect each other, their good influences converge in the virtue of the Tao.

CHAPTER LXI

1. What makes a great State is its being like a low-lying, down-flowing stream — it becomes the center to which tend all the small States under heaven.

2. To illustrate from the case of all females: the female always overcomes the male by her stillness. Stillness may be considered a sort of abasement.

3. Thus it is that a great State, by condescending to small States, gains them for itself; and that small States, by

[34] Whatever Lao-tze meant to teach in paragraph 2, he laid in it a foundation for the superstition of the later and present Taoism about the spirits of the dead.

abasing themselves to a great State, win it over to them. In the one case the abasement leads to gaining adherents, in the other case to procuring favor.

4. The great State only wishes to unite men together and nourish them; a small State only wishes to be received by, and to serve, the other. Each gets what it desires, but the great State must learn to abase itself.

CHAPTER LXII

1. Tao has of all things the most honored place.
No treasures give good men so rich a grace;
Bad men it guards, and doth their ill efface.

2. Its admirable words can purchase honor; its admirable deeds can raise their performer above others. Even men who are not good are not abandoned by it.

3. Therefore when the sovereign occupies his place as the Son of Heaven, and he has appointed his three ducal ministers, though a prince were to send in a round symbol-of-rank large enough to fill both the hands, and that as the precursor of the team of horses in the court-yard, such an offering would not be equal to a lesson of this Tao, which one might present on his knees.

4. Why was it that the ancients prized this Tao so much? Was it not because it could be got by seeking for it, and the guilty could escape from the stain of their guilt by it? This is the reason why all under heaven consider it the most valuable thing.

CHAPTER LXIII [35]

1. It is the way of the Tao to act without thinking of acting; to conduct affairs without feeling the trouble of

[35] Called "Thinking in the Beginning." In paragraph 1 the clauses give us a cluster of aphorisms illustrating the procedure of the Tao "by contraries," and conclude with one, which is the chief glory of Lao-tze's teaching, though I must think that its value is somewhat diminished by the method in which he reaches it. It has not the prominence in the later teaching of Taoist writers which we should expect, nor is it found (so far as I know) in Chuang-tze.

them; to taste without discerning any flavor; to consider what is small as great, and a few as many; and to recompense injury with kindness.

2. The master of it anticipates things that are difficult while they are easy, and does things that would become great while they are small. All difficult things in the world are sure to arise from a previous state in which they were easy, and all great things from one in which they were small. Therefore the sage, while he never does what is great, is able on that account to accomplish the greatest things.

3. He who lightly promises is sure to keep but little faith; he who is continually thinking things easy is sure to find them difficult. Therefore the sage sees difficulty even in what seems easy, and so never has any difficulties.

CHAPTER LXIV

1. That which is at rest is easily kept hold of; before a thing has given indications of its presence, it is easy to take measures against it; that which is brittle is easily broken; that which is very small is easily dispersed. Action should be taken before a thing has made its appearance; order should be secured before disorder has begun.

2. The tree which fills the arms grew from the tiniest sprout; the tower of nine stories rose from a small heap of earth; the journey of a thousand *li* commenced with a single step.

3. He who acts with an ulterior purpose does harm; he who takes hold of a thing in the same way loses his hold. The sage does not act so, and therefore does no harm; he does not lay hold so, and therefore does not lose his hold. But people in their conduct of affairs are constantly ruining them when they are on the eve of success. If they were careful at the end, as they should be at the beginning, they would not so ruin them.

4. Therefore the sage desires what other men do not desire, and does not prize things difficult to get; he learns what other men do not learn, and turns back to what the multitude of men have passed by. Thus he helps the natural development

of all things, and does not dare to act with an ulterior purpose of his own.

CHAPTER LXV

1. The ancients who showed their skill in practising the Tao did so, not to enlighten the people, but rather to make them simple and ignorant.

2. The difficulty in governing the people arises from their having much knowledge. He who tries to govern a State by his wisdom is a scourge to it; while he who does not try to do so is a blessing.

3. He who knows these two things finds in them also his model and rule. Ability to know this model and rule constitutes what we call the mysterious excellence of a governor. Deep and far-reaching is such mysterious excellence, showing indeed its possessor as opposite to others, but leading them to a great conformity to him.

CHAPTER LXVI

1. That whereby the rivers and seas are able to receive the homage and tribute of all the valley streams, is their skill in being lower than they; it is thus that they are the kings of them all. So it is that the sage ruler, wishing to be above men, puts himself by his words below them, and, wishing to be before them, places his person behind them.

2. In this way though he has his place above them, men do not feel his weight, nor though he has his place before them, do they feel it an injury to them.

3. Therefore all in the world delight to exalt him and do not weary of him. Because he does not strive, no one finds it possible to strive with him.

CHAPTER LXVII [36]

1. All the world says that, while my Tao is great, it yet appears to be inferior to other systems of teaching. Now it

[36] Called "The Three Precious Things." This title is taken from paragraph 2, and suggests to us how the early framer of these titles intended to express by them the subject-matter of their several chapters. The three things are the three distinguishing qualities of the

is just its greatness that makes it seem to be inferior. If it were like any other system, for long would its smallness have been known!

2. But I have three precious things which I prize and hold fast. The first is gentleness; the second is economy; and the third is shrinking from taking precedence of others.

3. With that gentleness I can be bold; with that economy I can be liberal; shrinking from taking precedence of others, I can become a vessel of the highest honor. Nowadays they give up gentleness and are all for being bold; economy, and are all for being liberal; the hindmost place, and seek only to be foremost — of all which the end is death.

4. Gentleness is sure to be victorious even in battle, and firmly to maintain its ground. Heaven will save its possessor, by his very gentleness protecting him.

CHAPTER LXVIII

He who in Tao's wars has skill
  Assumes no martial port;
He who fights with most good will
  To rage makes no resort.
He who vanquishes yet still
  Keeps from his foes apart;
He whose hests men most fulfil
  Yet humbly plies his art.

Thus we say, "He ne'er contends,
  And therein is his might."
Thus we say, "Men's wills he bends,
  That they with him unite."
Thus we say, "Like Heaven's his ends,
  No sage of old more bright."

CHAPTER LXIX

1. A master of the art of war has said, "I do not dare to be the host to commence the war; I prefer to be the guest

possessor of the Tao, the three great moral qualities appearing in its followers, the qualities, we may venture to say, of the Tao itself. The same phrase is now the common designation of Buddhism in China.

to act on the defensive. I do not dare to advance an inch; I prefer to retire a foot." This is called marshaling the ranks where there are no ranks; baring the arms to fight where there are no arms to bare; grasping the weapon where there is no weapon to grasp; advancing against the enemy where there is no enemy.

2. There is no calamity greater than lightly engaging in war. To do that is near losing the gentleness which is so precious. Thus it is that when opposing weapons are actually crossed, he who deplores the situation conquers.

CHAPTER LXX [37]

1. My words are very easy to know, and very easy to practise; but there is no one in the world who is able to know and able to practise them.

2. There is an originating and all-comprehending principle in my words, and an authoritative law for the things which I enforce. It is because they do not know these, that men do not know me.

3. They who know me are few, and I am on that account the more to be prized. It is thus that the sage wears a poor garb of hair cloth, while he carries his signet of jade in his bosom.

CHAPTER LXXI

1. To know and yet think we do not know is the highest attainment; not to know and yet think we do know is a disease.

2. It is simply by being pained at the thought of having this disease that we are preserved from it. The sage has not the disease. He knows the pain that would be inseparable from it, and therefore he does not have it.

[37] Called "The Difficulty of Being Rightly Known." The Tao comprehends and rules all Lao-tze's teaching, as the members of a clan were all in the loins of their first father, and continue to look up to him; and the people of a State are all under the direction of their ruler; yet the philosopher had to complain of not being known. Lao-tze's principle and rule or ruler was the Tao. His utterance here is very important. Compare the words of Confucius in the Analects, XIV.

CHAPTER LXXII [38]

1. When the poeple do not fear what they ought to fear, that which is their great dread will come on them.

2. Let them not thoughtlessly indulge themselves in their ordinary life; let them not act as if weary of what that life depends on.

3. It is by avoiding such indulgence that such weariness does not arise.

4. Therefore the sage knows these things of himself, but does not parade his knowledge; loves, but does not appear to set a value on, himself. And thus he puts the latter alternative away and makes choice of the former.

CHAPTER LXXIII

1. He whose boldness appears in his daring to do wrong, in defiance of the laws, is put to death; he whose boldness appears in his not daring to do so lives on. Of these two cases the one appears to be advantageous, and the other to be injurious. But

> When Heaven's anger smites a man,
> Who the cause shall truly scan?

On this account the sage feels a difficulty as to what to do in the former case.

2. It is the way of Heaven not to strive, and yet it skilfully overcomes; not to speak, and yet it is skilful in obtaining a reply; does not call, and yet men come to it of themselves. Its demonstrations are quiet, and yet its plans are skilful and effective. The meshes of the net of Heaven are large; far apart, but letting nothing escape.

CHAPTER LXXIV

1. The people do not fear death: to what purpose is it to try to frighten them with death? If the people were

[38] Called "Loving one's Self." This title is taken from the expression in paragraph 4; and the object of the chapter seems to be to show how such loving should be manifested, and to enforce the lesson by the example of the "sage," the true master of the Tao.

always in awe of death, and I could always seize those who do wrong, and put them to death, who would dare to do wrong?

2. There is always One who presides over the infliction of death. He who would inflict death in the room of him who so presides over it may be described as hewing wood instead of a great carpenter. Seldom is it that he who undertakes the hewing, instead of the great carpenter, does not cut his own hands!

CHAPTER LXXV

1. The people suffer from famine because of the multitude of taxes consumed by their superiors. It is through this that they suffer famine.

2. The people are difficult to govern because of the excessive agency of their superiors in governing them. It is through this that they are difficult to govern.

3. The people make light of dying because of the greatness of their labors in seeking for the means of living. It is this which makes them think light of dying. Thus it is that to leave the subject of living altogether out of view is better than to set a high value on it.

CHAPTER LXXVI [39]

1. Man at his birth is supple and weak; at his death, firm and strong. So it is with all things. Trees and plants, in their early growth, are soft and brittle; at their death, dry and withered.

2. Thus it is that firmness and strength are the concomitants of death; softness and weakness, the concomitants of life.

3. Hence he who relies on the strength of his forces does not conquer; and a tree which is strong will fill the outstretched arms, and thereby invites the feller.

4. Therefore the place of what is firm and strong is below, and that of what is soft and weak is above.

[39] Called "A Warning against Trusting in Strength." To trust in one's force is contrary to the Tao, whose strength is more in weakness and humility.

CHAPTER LXXVII

1. May not the Way (or Tao) of Heaven be compared to the method of bending a bow? The part of the bow which was high is brought low, and what was low is raised up. So Heaven diminishes where there is superabundance, and supplements where there is deficiency.

2. It is the Way of Heaven to diminish superabundance, and to supplement deficiency. It is not so with the way of man. He takes away from those who have not enough to add to his own superabundance.

3. Who can take his own superabundance and therewith serve all under heaven? Only he who is in possession of the Tao!

4. Therefore the ruling sage acts without claiming the results as his; he achieves his merit and does not rest arrogantly in it — he does not wish to display his superiority.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

1. There is nothing in this world more soft and weak than water, and yet for attacking things that are firm and strong there is nothing that can take precedence of it — for there is nothing so effectual for which it can be changed.

2. Every one in the world knows that the soft overcomes the hard, and the weak the strong, but no one is able to carry it out in practise.

3. Therefore a sage has said,

> "He who accepts his State's reproach
> Is hailed therefore its altars' lord;
> To him who bears men's direful woes
> They all the name of King accord."

4. Words that are strictly true seem to be paradoxical.

CHAPTER LXXIX

1. When a reconciliation is effected between two parties after a great animosity, there is sure to be a grudge remaining in the mind of the one who was wrong. And how can this be beneficial to the other?

2. Therefore to guard against this, the sage keeps the left-hand portion of the record of the engagement, and does not insist on the speedy fulfilment of it by the other party. So, he who has the attributes of the Tao regards only the conditions of the engagement, while he who has not those attributes regards only the conditions favorable to himself.

3. In the Way of Heaven there is no partiality of love; it is always on the side of the good man.

CHAPTER LXXX [40]

1. In a little State with a small population, I would so order it, that, though there were individuals with the abilities of ten or a hundred men, there should be no employment of them; I would make the people, while looking on death as a grievous thing, yet not remove elsewhere to avoid it.

2. Though they had boats and carriages, they should have no occasion to ride in them; though they had buff coats and sharp weapons, they should have no occasion to don or use them.

3. I would make the people return to the use of knotted cords instead of the written characters.

4. They should think their coarse food sweet; their plain clothes beautiful; their poor dwellings places of rest; and their common, simple ways sources of enjoyment.

5. There should be a neighboring State within sight, and the voices of the fowls and dogs should be heard all the way from it to us, but I would make the people to old age, even to death, not have any intercourse with it.

CHAPTER LXXXI [41]

1. Sincere words are not fine; fine words are not sincere.

[40] Called "Standing Alone." The chapter sets forth what Lao-tze conceived the ancient government of simplicity was, and what he would have government in all time to be. He does not use the personal pronoun "I," but it is most natural to suppose that he is himself that subject; and he modestly supposes himself in charge of a little State and a small population.

[41] Called "The Manifestation of Simplicity." The chapter shows how quietly and effectively the Tao proceeds, and by contraries in a

Those who are skilled in the Tao do not dispute about it; the disputatious are not skilled in it. Those who know the Tao are not extensively learned; the extensively learned do not know it.

2. The sage does not accumulate for himself. The more that he expends for others, the more does he possess of his own; the more that he gives to others, the more does he have himself.

3. With all the sharpness of the Way of Heaven, it injures not; with all the doing in the way of the sage he does not strive.

way that only the master of it can understand. The author, says Wu Chang, "sums up in this the subject-matter of the two Parts of his Treatise, showing that in all its five thousand characters there is nothing beyond what is here said."

END OF THE TAO-TEH KING

TAOISM

THE DIVINE CLASSIC OF CHUANG-TZE

TRANSLATED BY PROF. JAMES LEGGE

"Perfect speech is to put speech aside."

— CHUANG-TZE.

"The ancients described death as the loosening of the cord on which God suspended the life. What we can point to are the faggots that have been consumed; but the fire is transmitted elsewhere, and we know not that it is over and ended."

— CHUANG-TZE.

THE DIVINE CLASSIC OF CHUANG-TZE

(INTRODUCTION)

CHUANG-TZE was born early in the fourth century B.C., and died in the third. He was an older contemporary and a rival teacher to the great Mencius, just as the first Taoist, Lao-tze, had been an older contemporary of Confucius, the master of Mencius. The birth-place of Chuang-tze was Nan-hua, from which his writings are often called "the Divine Classic of Nan-hua," and he himself is called "the True Man of Nan-hua."

This title may sound a bit quaintly to Westerners when we consider the absolutely irresponsible fashion in which Chuang seems to have invented derogatory stories about Confucius or any other opponent. Perhaps his contemporaries knew that his tales were not to be accepted literally; but certainly later generations, prone enough to create fables for themselves, must have often been led astray by the fantasies of this "True Man." Never was another religion established under such light-hearted guise or with such apparent frivolity. Chuang has been compared to our English Bunyan; but the visions of "Pilgrim's Progress" are those of impassioned ignorance upheld by intense confidence in its own truth, while the fantasies of Chuang are the deliberate fashionings of a man of broad knowledge and easy culture. So widespread was the influence of these tales that whereas in earlier times Taoistic literature had been referred to as "the words of Hwang-Ti and Lao-tze," or more briefly the Hwang Lao, the whole body of doctrine now became known as the Lao Chuang.

The books of Chuang are said to have been, like a modern deck of cards, fifty-two in number; but perhaps the laughing philosopher was as careless of his books as of some other things; for only thirty-three now survive, and even of these

four or more are usually rejected as spurious. Hence in our present work we give the reader first the seven chief books, called by the commentators the Nei or "Inner Set" of books, on which Chuang's teaching is founded. Then follow the more noted of the "Outer Set." The "Floods of Autumn" is usually accounted Chuang's most eloquent book; but certainly the fantasia, "Knowledge Rambling in the North," presses it close. We give them both, and also the vague "History of Taoism" with which Chuang closed his work. To these we add the most interesting of the "doubtful books" written either by Chuang or by a disciple in direct imitation of his fanciful style.

THE SHRINE OF THE DEAD EMPERORS.

The road leading to the Imperial tombs is bordered by colossal statues of beasts and men.



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NEI, OR INNER BOOKS
OF
CHUANG-TZE

Book I

HSIAO-YAO YU, OR "ENJOYMENT IN UNTROUBLED EASE"

CHAPTER I

In the Northern Ocean there is a fish, the name of which is *Khwan,*[1] — I do not know how many li in size. It changes into a bird with the name of *Phang,* the back of which is also — I do not know how many li in extent. When this bird rouses itself and flies, its wings are like clouds all round the sky. When the sea is moved so as to bear it along, it prepares to remove to the Southern Ocean. The Southern Ocean is the Pool of Heaven.

There is the book called Chi Hsieh [2] — a record of marvels. We have it in these words: "When the *phang* is removing to the Southern Ocean it flaps its wings on the water for 3000 li. Then it ascends on a whirlwind 90,000 li, and it rests only at the end of six months." But similar to this is the movement of the breezes which we call the horses of the fields, of the dust which quivers in the sunbeams, and of living things as they are blown against one another by the

[1] The *khwan* and the *phang* are both fabulous creatures, far transcending in size the dimensions ascribed by the wildest fancy of the West to the *kraken* and the *roc.* Chuang-tze represents them as so huge by way of contrast to the small creatures which he is intending to introduce — to show that size has nothing to do with the Tao, and the perfect enjoyment which the possession of it affords. The passage is a good specimen of the Yu Yen, metaphorical or parabolical narratives or stories, which are the chief characteristic of our author's writings; but the reader must keep in mind that the idea or lesson in its "lodging" is generally of a Taoistic nature.

[2] There may have been a book with this title, to which Chuang-tze appeals, as if feeling that what he had said needed to be substantiated.

air.[3] Is its azure the proper color of the sky? Or is it occasioned by its distance and illimitable extent? If one were looking down from above, the very same appearance would just meet his view.

CHAPTER II

And moreover, to speak of the accumulation of water; if it be not great, it will not have strength to support a large boat. Upset a cup of water in a cavity, and a straw will float on it as if it were a boat. Place a cup in it, and it will stick fast — the water is shallow and the boat is large. So it is with the accumulation of wind; if it be not great, it will not have strength to support great wings. Therefore the *phang* ascended to the height of 90,000 li, and there was such a mass of wind beneath it; thenceforth the accumulation of wind was sufficient. As it seemed to bear the blue sky on its back, and there was nothing to obstruct or arrest its course, it could pursue its way to the South.

A cicada and a little dove laughed at it, saying, "We make an effort and fly toward an elm or sapan-wood tree; and sometimes before we reach it, we can do no more but drop to the ground. Of what use is it for this creature to rise 90,000 li, and make for the South?" He who goes to the grassy suburbs, returning to the third meal of the day, will have his belly as full as when he set out; he who goes to a distance of 100 li will have to pound his grain where he stops for the night; he who goes a thousand li will have to carry with him provisions for three months. What should these two small creatures know about the matter? The knowledge of that which is small does not reach to that which is great; the experience of a few years does not reach to that of many. How do we know that it is so? The mushroom of a morning does not know what takes place between the beginning and end of a month; the short-lived cicada does not know what takes place between the spring and autumn. These are instances

[3] This seems to be interjected as an afterthought, suggesting to the reader that the *phang*, soaring along at such a height, was only an exaggerated form of the common phenomena with which he was familiar.

of a short term of life. In the south of Chu there is the tree called *Ming-ling,* whose spring is 500 years, and its autumn the same; in high antiquity there was that called *Ta-chun,* whose spring was 8000 years, and its autumn the same. And *Phang Tsu*[4] is the one man renowned to the present day for his length of life: if all men were to wish to match him, would they not be miserable?

CHAPTER III

In the questions put by Thang[5] to Chi we have similar statements: "In the bare and barren north there is the dark and vast ocean — the Pool of Heaven. In it there is a fish, several thousand li in breadth, while no one knows its length. Its name is the *khwan.* There is also a bird named the *phang*; its back is like the Thai mountain, while its wings are like clouds all round the sky. On a whirlwind it mounts upward as on the whorls of a goat's horn for 90,000 li, till, far removed from the cloudy vapors, it bears on its back the blue sky, and then it shapes its course for the South, and proceeds to the ocean there." A quail by the side of a marsh laughed at it, and said, "Where is it going to? I spring up with a bound, and come down again when I have reached but a few fathoms, and then fly about among the brushwood and bushes; and this is the perfection of flying. Where is that creature going to?" This shows the difference between the small and the great.

Thus it is that men, whose wisdom is sufficient for the duties of some one office, or whose conduct will secure harmony in some one district, or whose virtue is befitting a ruler so that they could efficiently govern some one State, are sure to look on themselves in this manner (like the quail), and yet Yung-tze of Sung would have smiled and laughed at

[4] Or "the patriarch *Phang.*" Confucius compared himself to him (Analects, VII),—"our old Phang"; and Ku Hsi thinks he was a worthy officer of the Shang Dynasty. Whoever he was, the legends about him are a mass of Taoistic fables. At the end of the Shang Dynasty (1123 B.C.) he was more than 767 years old, and still in unabated vigor. We read of his losing 49 wives and 54 sons.

[5] The founder of the Shang Dynasty.

them. This Yung-tze, though the whole world should have praised him, would not for that have stimulated himself to greater endeavor, and though the whole world should have condemned him, would not have exercised any more repression of his course; so fixed was he in the difference between the internal judgment of himself and the external judgment of others, so distinctly had he marked out the bounding limit of glory and disgrace. Here, however, he stopped. His place in the world indeed had become indifferent to him, but still he had not planted himself firmly in the right position.

There was Lieh-tze, who rode on the wind and pursued his way, with an admirable indifference to all external things, returning, however, after fifteen days, to his place. In regard to the things that are supposed to contribute to happiness, he was free from all endeavors to obtain them; but though he had not to walk, there was still something for which he had to wait. But suppose one who mounts on the ether of heaven and earth in its normal operation, and drives along the six elemental energies of the changing seasons, thus enjoying himself in the illimitable — what has he to wait for?[6] Therefore it is said, "The Perfect man has no thought of self; the Spirit-like man, none of merit; the Sagely minded man, none of fame."

CHAPTER IV

Yao,[7] proposing to resign the throne to Hsu Yu, said, "When the sun and moon have come forth, if the torches have not been put out, would it not be difficult for them to give light? When the seasonal rains are coming down, if we still keep watering the ground, will not our toil be labor lost for all the good it will do? Do you, Master, stand forth

[6] The description of a master of the Tao, exalted by it, unless the predicates about him be nothing but the ravings of a wild extravagance, above mere mortal man. In the conclusion, however, he is presented under three different phases, which the reader will do well to keep in mind.

[7] The great sovereign with whom the documents of the Shu King commence.

as sovereign, and the kingdom will at once be well governed. If I still continue to preside over it, I must look on myself as vainly occupying the place; I beg to resign the throne to you." Hsu Yu said, "You, Sir, govern the kingdom, and the kingdom is well governed. If I in these circumstances take your place, shall I not be doing so for the sake of the name? But the name is but the guest of the reality; shall I be playing the part of the guest? The tailor-bird makes its nest in the deep forest, but only uses a single branch; the mole drinks from the Ho, but only takes what fills its belly. Return and rest in being ruler — I will have nothing to do with the throne. Though the cook were not attending to his kitchen, the representative of the dead and the officer of prayer would not leave their cups and stands to take his place."

CHAPTER V

Chien Wu asked Lien Shu, saying, "I heard Chieh-yu talking words which were great, but had nothing corresponding to them in reality; once gone, they could not be brought back. I was frightened by them — they were like the Milky Way which can not be traced to its beginning or end. They had no connection with one another, and were not akin to the experiences of men." "What were his words?" asked Lien Shu, and the other replied. He said that "Far away on the hill of Ku-shih there dwelt a Spirit-like man whose flesh and skin were smooth as ice and white as snow; that his manner was elegant and delicate as that of a virgin; that he did not eat any of the five grains, but inhaled the wind and drank the dew; that he mounted on the clouds, drove along the flying dragons, rambling and enjoying himself beyond the four seas; that by the concentration of his spirit-like powers he could save men from disease and pestilence, and secure every year a plentiful harvest." These words appeared to me wild and incoherent and I did not believe them. "So it is," said Lien Shu. "The blind have no perception of the beauty of elegant figures, nor the deaf of the sound of bells and drums. But is it only the bodily senses of which

deafness and blindness can be predicated? There is also a similar defect in the intelligence; and of this your words supply an illustration in yourself. That man, with those attributes, though all things were one mass of confusion, and he heard in that condition the whole world crying out to him to be rectified, would not have to address himself laboriously to the task, as if it were his business to rectify the world. Nothing could hurt that man; the greatest floods, reaching to the sky, could not drown him, nor would he feel the fervor of the greatest heats melting metals and stones till they flowed, and scorching all the ground and hills. From the dust and chaff of himself, he could still mold and fashion Yaos and Shuns;[8] how should he be willing to occupy himself with things?"[9]

CHAPTER VI

A man of Sung, who dealt in the ceremonial caps of Yin, went with them to Yueh, the people of which cut off their hair and tattooed their bodies, so that they had no use for them. Yao ruled the people of the kingdom, and maintained a perfect government within the four seas. Having gone to see the four Perfect Ones on the distant hill of Ku-shih, when he returned to his capital on the south of the Fan water, his throne appeared no more to his deep-sunk oblivious eyes.[10]

CHAPTER VII

Hui-tze[11] told Chuang-tze, saying, "The King of Wei sent

[8] Shun was the successor of Yao in the ancient kingdom.

[9] All this description is to give us an idea of the "Spirit-like man." We have in it the results of the Tao in its fullest embodiment.

[10] This paragraph is intended to give us an idea of "the Perfect man," who has no thought of himself. The description, however, is brief and tame, compared with the accounts of Hsu Yu and of "the Spirit-like man."

[11] Or Hui Shih, the chief minister of "King Hui of Liang (or Wei) (370–333 B.C.)," with an interview between whom and Mencius the works of that philosopher commence. He was a friend of Chuang-tze, and an eccentric thinker. I do not think that the conversations about "the great calabash" and "the great tree" really took place; Chuang-tze probably invented them, to illustrate his point that size had nothing to do with the Tao, and that things which seemed useless were not really so when rightly used.

me some seeds of a large calabash, which I sowed. The fruit, when fully grown, could contain five piculs (of anything). I used it to contain water, but it was so heavy that I could not lift it by myself. I cut it in two to make the parts into drinking-vessels; but the dried shells were too wide and unstable and would not hold the liquor; nothing but large useless things! Because of their uselessness I knocked them to pieces." Chuang-tze replied, "You were indeed stupid, my master, in the use of what was large. There was a man of Sung who was skilful at making a salve which kept the hands from getting chapped; and his family for generations had made the bleaching of cocoon-silk their business. A stranger heard of it, and proposed to buy the art of the preparation for a hundred ounces of silver. The kindred all came together, and considered the proposal. 'We have,' said they, 'been bleaching cocoon-silk for generations, and have only gained a little money. Now in one morning we can sell to this man our art for a hundred ounces; let him have it.' The stranger accordingly got it and went away with it to give counsel to the King of Wu, who was then engaged in hostilities with Yueh. The King gave him the command of his fleet, and in the winter he had an engagement with that of Yueh, on which he inflicted a great defeat, and was invested with a portion of territory taken from Yueh. The keeping the hands from getting chapped was the same in both cases; but in the one case it led to the investiture of the possessor of the salve, and in the other it had only enabled its owners to continue their bleaching. The difference of result was owing to the different use made of the art. Now you, Sir, had calabashes large enough to hold five piculs; why did you not think of making large bottle-gourds of them, by means of which you could have floated over rivers and lakes, instead of giving yourself the sorrow of finding that they were useless for holding anything? Your mind, my master, would seem to have been closed against all intelligence!"

Hui-tze said to Chuang-tze, "I have a large tree, which men call the *Ailantus*. Its trunk swells out to a large size, but is not fit for a carpenter to apply his line to it; its smaller

branches are knotted and crooked, so that the disk and square can not be used on them. Though planted on the wayside, a builder would not turn his head to look at it. Now your words, Sir, are great, but of no use; all unite in putting them away from them." Chuang-tze replied, "Have you never seen a wild cat or a weasel? There it lies, crouching and low, till the wanderer approaches; east and west it leaps about, avoiding neither what is high nor what is low, till it is caught in a trap, or dies in a net. Again there is the Yak, so large that it is like a cloud hanging in the sky. It is large indeed, but it can not catch mice. You, Sir, have a large tree and are troubled because it is of no use; why do you not plant it in a tract where there is nothing else, or in a wide and barren wild? There you might saunter idly by its side, or in the enjoyment of untroubled ease sleep beneath it. Neither bill nor axe would shorten its existence; there would be nothing to injure it. What is there in its uselessness to cause you distress?"

Book II

CHI WU LUN, OR "THE ADJUSTMENT OF CONTROVERSIES"

CHAPTER I

Nan-kwo Tze-chi was seated, leaning forward on his stool. He was looking up to heaven and breathed gently, seeming to be in a trance, and to have lost all consciousness of any companion. His disciple, Yen Chang Tze-yu, who was in attendance and standing before him, said, "What is this? Can the body be made to become thus like a withered tree, and the mind to become like slaked lime? His appearance as he leans forward on the stool to-day is such as I never saw him have before in the same position." Tze-chi said, "Yen, you do well to ask such a question; I had just now lost myself;[1] but how should you understand it? You may

[1] "He had lost himself"; that is, he had become unconscious of all

have heard the notes of Man, but have not heard those of Earth; you may have heard the notes of Earth, but have not heard those of Heaven."

Tze-yu said, "I venture to ask from you a description of all these." The reply was, "When the breath of the Great Mass of nature comes strongly, it is called 'Wind.' Sometimes it does not come so; but when it does, then from a myriad apertures there issues its excited noise; have you not heard it in a prolonged gale? Take the projecting bluff of a mountain forest; in the great trees, a hundred spans round, the apertures and cavities are like the nostrils, or the mouth, or the ears; now square, now round like a cup or a mortar; here like a wet foot-print, and there like a large puddle. The sounds issuing from them are like those of fretted water, of the arrowy whizz, of the stern command, of the inhaling of the breath, of the shout, of the gruff note, of the deep wail, of the sad and piping note. The first notes are slight, and those that follow deeper, but in harmony with them. Gentle winds produce a small response; violent winds a great one. When the fierce gusts have passed away, all the apertures are empty and still; have you not seen this in the bending and quivering of the branches and leaves?"

Tze-yu said, "The notes of Earth then are simply those which come from its myriad apertures; and the notes of Man may just be compared to those which are brought from the tubes of bamboo; allow me to ask about the notes of Heaven." [2] Tze-chi replied, "When the wind blows, the sounds from the myriad apertures are different, and its cessation makes them stop of themselves. Both of these things arise from the wind and the apertures themselves: should there be any other agency that excites them?"

around him, and even of himself, as if he were about to enter into the state of "an Immortal," a mild form of the Buddhistic *samadhi*.

[2] The sounds of Earth have been described fully and graphically. Of the sounds of Man very little is said, but they form the subject of the next paragraph. Nothing is said in answer to the disciple's inquiry about the notes of Heaven. It is intimated, however, that there is no necessity to introduce any foreign Influence or Power like Heaven in connection with the notes of Earth. The term "Heaven," indeed, is about to pass with our author into a mere synonym of Tao, the natural "course" of the phenomena of men and things.

CHAPTER II

Great knowledge is wide and comprehensive; small knowledge is partial and restricted. Great speech is exact and complete; small speech is merely so much talk.[3] When we sleep, the soul communicates with what is external to us; when we awake, the body is set free. Our intercourse with others then leads to various activity, and daily there is the striving of mind with mind. There are hesitancies; deep difficulties; reservations; small apprehensions causing restless distress, and great apprehensions producing endless fears. Where their utterances are like arrows from a bow, we have those who feel it their charge to pronounce what is right and what is wrong; where they are given out like the conditions of a covenant, we have those who maintain their views, determined to overcome. The weakness of their arguments, like the decay of things in autumn and winter, shows the failing of the minds of some from day to day; or it is like their water which, once voided, can not be gathered up again. Then their ideas seem as if fast bound with cords, showing that the mind is become like an old and dry moat, and that it is nigh to death, and can not be restored to vigor and brightness.

Joy and anger, sadness and pleasure, anticipation and regret, fickleness and fixedness, vehemence and indolence, eagerness and tardiness — all these moods, like music from an empty tube, or mushrooms from the warm moisture, day and night succeed to one another and come before us, and we do not know whence they sprout. Let us stop! Let us stop! Can we expect to find out suddenly how they are produced?

If there were not the views of another, I should not have mine; if there were not I with my views, his would be uncalled for: this is nearly a true statement of the case, but we do not know what it is that makes it be so. It might seem as if there would be a true Governor concerned in it,

[3] Words are the "sounds" of Man; and knowledge is the "wind" by which they are excited.

but we do not find any trace of his presence and acting. That such a One could act so I believe; but we do not see His form. He has affections, but He has no form.

Given the body, with its hundred parts, its nine openings, and its six viscera, all complete in their places, which do I love the most? Do you love them all equally? or do you love some more than others? Is it not the case that they all perform the part of your servants and waiting women? All of them being such, are they not incompetent to rule one another? or do they take it in turns to be now ruler and now servants? There must be a true Ruler among them;[4] whether by searching you can find out His character or not, there is neither advantage nor hurt, so far as the truth of His operation is concerned. When once we have received the bodily form complete, its parts do not fail to perform their functions till the end comes. In conflict with things or in harmony with them, they pursue their course to the end, with the speed of a galloping horse which can not be stopped; is it not sad? To be constantly toiling all one's lifetime, without seeing the fruit of one's labor, and to be weary and worn out with his labor, without knowing where he is going to: is it not a deplorable case? Men may say, "But it is not death"; yet of what advantage is this? When the body is decomposed, the mind will be the same along with it: must not the case be pronounced very deplorable? Is the life of man indeed enveloped in such darkness? Is it I alone to whom it appears so? And does it not appear to be so to other men?

CHAPTER III

If we were to follow the judgments of the pre-determined mind, who would be left alone and without a teacher?[5] Not only would it be so with those who know the sequences of knowledge and feeling and make their own selection among them, but it would be so as well with the stupid and unthink-

[4] The name "Ruler" is different from "Governor" above; but they both indicate the same concept in the author's mind.

[5] This "teacher" is "the Tao."

ing. For one who has not this determined mind, to have his affirmations and negations is like the case described in the saying, "He went to Yueh to-day, and arrived at it yesterday." It would be making what was not a fact to be a fact. But even the spirit-like Yu [6] could not have known how to do this, and how should one like me be able to do it?

But speech is not like the blowing of the wind; the speaker has a meaning in his words. If, however, what he says, be indeterminate as from a mind not made up, does he then really speak or not? He thinks that his words are different from the chirpings of fledgelings; but is there any distinction between them or not? But how can the Tao be so obscured, that there should be "a True" and "a False" in it? How can speech be so obscured that there should be "the Right" and "the Wrong" about them? Where shall the Tao go to that it will not be found? Where shall speech be found that it will be inappropriate? Tao becomes obscured through the small comprehension of the mind, and speech comes to be obscure through the vain-gloriousness of the speaker. So it is that we have the contentions between the Literati [7] and the Mohists,[8] the one side affirming what the other denies, and *vice versa*. If we would decide on their several affirmations and denials, no plan is like bringing the proper light of the mind [9] to bear on them.

All subjects may be looked at from two points of view — from that and from this. If I look at a thing from another's point of view, I do not see it; only as I know it myself, do I know it. Hence it is said, "That view comes from this; and this view is a consequence of that": which is the theory that that view and this — the opposite views — produce each the other. Although it be so, there is affirmed now life and now death; now death and now life; now the admissibility of a thing and now its inadmissibility; now its inadmissibility

[6] The successor and counselor of Shun, who coped with and remedied the flood of Yao.

[7] The followers of Confucius.

[8] The disciples of Mih-tze, or Mih Ti, the heresiarch, whom Mencius attacked so fiercely.— See Mencius.

[9] That is, the perfect mind, the principle of the Tao.

and now its admissibility. The disputants now affirm and now deny; now deny and now affirm. Therefore the sagely man does not pursue this method, but views things in the light of his Heavenly nature,[10] and hence forms his judgment of what is right.

This view is the same as that, and that view is the same as this. But that view involves both a right and a wrong; and this view involves also a right and a wrong: are there indeed, or are there not the two views, that and this? They have not found their point of correspondency which is called the pivot of the Tao. As soon as one finds this pivot, he stands in the center of the ring of thought, where he can respond without end to the changing views; without end to those affirming, and without end to those denying. Therefore I said, "There is nothing like the proper light of the mind."

CHAPTER IV

By means of a finger of my own to illustrate that the finger of another is not a finger is not so good a plan as to illustrate that it is not so by means of what is acknowledged to be not a finger; and by means of what I call a horse to illustrate that what another calls a horse is not so, is not so good a plan as to illustrate that it is not a horse, by means of what is acknowledged to be not a horse. All things in heaven and earth may be dealt with as a finger; each of their myriads may be dealt with as a horse. Does a thing seem so to me? I say that it is so. Does it seem not so to me? I say that it is not so. A path is formed by constant treading on the ground. A thing is called by its name through the constant application of the name to it. How is it so? It is so because it is so. How is it not so? It is not so, because it is not so. Everything has its inherent character and its proper capability. There is nothing which has not these. Therefore, this being so, if we take a stalk of grain and a large pillar, a loathsome leper and a beauty like Hsi Shih,[11] things

10 Equivalent to the Tao.

11 A famous beauty, a courtezan presented by the king of Yueh to his enemy, the king of Wu, and who hastened on his progress to ruin and death, she herself perishing at the same time.

large and things insecure, things crafty and things strange — they may in the light of the Tao all be reduced to the same category of opinion about them.

It was separation that led to completion; from completion ensued dissolution. But all things, without regard to their completion and dissolution, may again be comprehended in their unity; it is only the far-reaching in thought who know how to comprehend them in this unity. This being so, let us give up our devotion to our own views, and occupy ourselves with the ordinary views. These ordinary views are grounded on the use of things. The study of that use leads to the comprehensive judgment, and that judgment secures the success of the inquiry. That success gained, we are near to the object of our search, and there we stop. When we stop, and yet we do not know how it is so, we have what is called the Tao.

When we toil our spirits and intelligence, obstinately determined to establish our own view, and do not know the agreement which underlies it and the views of others, we have what is called "In the morning three." What is meant by that "In the morning three"? A keeper of monkeys, in giving them out their acorns, once said, "In the morning I will give you three measures and in the evening four." This made them all angry, and he said, "Very well. In the morning I will give you four and in the evening three." His two proposals were substantially the same, but the result of the one was to make the creatures angry, and of the other to make them pleased — an illustration of the point I am insisting on. Therefore the sagely man brings together a dispute in its affirmations and denials, and rests in the equal fashioning of Heaven.[12] Both sides of the question are admissible.

CHAPTER V

Among the men of old their knowledge reached the extreme point. What was that extreme point? Some held that at first there was not anything. This is the extreme point, the

[12] Literally, "the Heaven-Mold or Molder"— another name for the Tao, by which all things are fashioned.

utmost point to which nothing can be added. A second class held that there was something, but without any responsive recognition of it on the part of men.

A third class held that there was such recognition, but there had not begun to be any expression of different opinions about it.

It was through the definite expression of different opinions about it that there ensued injury to the doctrine of the Tao. It was this injury to the doctrine of the Tao which led to the formation of partial preferences. Was it indeed after such preferences were formed that the injury came? or did the injury precede the rise of such preferences? If the injury arose after their formation, Chao's method of playing on the lute was natural. If the injury arose before their formation, there would have been no such playing on the lute as Chao's.[13]

Chao Wan's playing on the lute, Shih Kwang's indicating time with his staff, and Hui-tze's giving his views, while leaning against a dryandra-tree, were all extraordinary. The knowledge of the three men in their several arts was nearly perfect, and therefore they practised them to the end of their lives. They loved them because they were different from those of others. They loved them and wished to make them known to others. But as they could not be made clear, though they tried to make them so, they ended with the obscure discussions about "the hard" and "the white." And their sons, moreover, with all the threads of their fathers' compositions, yet to the end of their lives accomplished nothing. If they, proceeding in this way, could be said to have succeeded, then am I also successful; if they can not be pronounced successful, neither I nor any other can succeed.

Therefore the scintillations of light from the midst of confusion and perplexity are indeed valued by the sagely man; but not to use one's own views and to take his position on the ordinary views is what is called using the proper light.

13 Chao Wan and Shih Kwang were both musicians of the State of Tsin. Shih, which appears as Kwang's surname, was his denomination as "music-master." It is difficult to understand the reason why Chuang-tze introduces these men and their ways, or how it helps his argument.

CHAPTER VI

But here now are some other sayings: I do not know whether they are of the same character as those which I have already given, or of a different character. Whether they be of the same character or not when looked at along with them, they have a character of their own, which can not be distinguished from the others. But though this be the case, let me try to explain myself.

There was a beginning. There was a beginning before that beginning.[14] There was a beginning previous to that beginning before there was the beginning.

There was existence; there had been no existence. There was no existence before the beginning of that no existence.[14] There was no existence previous to the no existence before there was the beginning of the no existence. If suddenly there was non-existence, we do not know whether it was really anything existing, or really not existing. Now I have said what I have said, but I do not know whether what I have said be really anything to the point or not.

Under heaven there is nothing greater than the tip of an autumn down, and the Thai mountain is small. There is no one more long-lived than a child which dies prematurely, and Phang Tsu did not live out his time. Heaven, Earth, and I were produced together, and all things and I are one. Since they are one, can there be speech about them? But since they are spoken of as one, must there not be room for speech? One and Speech are two; two and one are three. Going on from this in our enumeration, the most skilful reckoner can not reach the end of the necessary numbers, and how much less can ordinary people do so! Therefore from non-existence we proceed to existence till we arrive at three; proceeding from existence to existence, to how many should we reach? Let us abjure such procedure, and simply rest here.

[14] That is, looking at things from the standpoint of an original non-existence, and discarding all considerations of space and time.

CHAPTER VII

The Tao at first met with no responsive recognition. Speech at first had no constant forms of expression. Because of this there came the demarcations of different views. Let me describe those demarcations: they are the Left and the Right; [15] the Relations and their Obligations; [16] Classifications and their Distinctions; Emulations and Contentions. These are what are called "the Eight Qualities." Outside the limits of the world of men,[17] the sage occupies his thoughts, but does not discuss about anything; inside those limits he occupies his thoughts, but does not pass any judgments. In the Chun Chiu,[18] which embraces the history of the former kings, the sage indicates his judgments, but does not argue in vindication of them. Thus it is that he separates his characters from one another without appearing to do so, and argues without the form of argument. How does he do so? The sage cherishes his views in his own breast, while men generally state theirs argumentatively, to show them to others. Hence we have the saying, "Disputation is a proof of not seeing clearly."

The Great Tao does not admit of being praised. The Great Argument does not require words. Great Benevolence is not officiously benevolent. Great Disinterestedness does not vaunt its humility. Great Courage is not seen in stubborn bravery.

The Tao that is displayed is not the Tao. Words that are argumentative do not reach the point. Benevolence that is constantly exercised does not accomplish its object. Disinterestedness that vaunts its purity is not genuine. Courage that is most stubborn is ineffectual. These five seem

15 That is, direct opposites.

16 Literally, "righteousness"; the proper way of dealing with the relations.

17 Literally, "the six conjunctions," meaning the four cardinal points of space, with the zenith and nadir; sometimes a name for the universe of space. Here we must restrict the meaning as I have done.

18 "The Spring and Autumn"— Confucius's Annals of Lu, here complimented by Chuang-tze.

to be round and complete, but they tend to become square and immovable. Therefore the knowledge that stops at what it does not know is the greatest. Who knows the argument that needs no words, and the Way that is not to be trodden?

He who is able to know this has what is called "The Heavenly Treasure-house."[19] He may pour into it without its being filled; he may pour from it without its being exhausted; and all the while he does not know whence the supply comes. This is what is called "The Store of Light."[19]

Therefore of old Yao asked Shun, saying, "I wish to smite the rulers of Tsung, Kwei, and Hsu-ao.[20] Even when standing in my court, I can not get them out of my mind. How is it so?" Shun replied, "Those three rulers live in their little States as if they were among the mugwort and other brushwood; — how is it that you can not get them out of your mind? Formerly, ten suns came out together, and all things were illuminated by them; how much should your virtue exceed all suns!"

CHAPTER VIII

Nieh Chueh[21] asked Wang I,[21] saying, "Do you know, Sir, what all creatures agree in approving and affirming?" "How should I know it?" was the reply. "Do you know what it is that you do not know?" asked the other again, and he got the same reply. He asked a third time —"Then are all creatures thus without knowledge?" and Wang I answered as before, adding however, "Notwithstanding, I will try and explain my meaning. How do you know that when I say 'I know it,' I really am showing that I do not know it, and that when I say 'I do not know it,' I really am showing that I do know it?' And let me ask you some questions: 'If a man sleep in a damp place, he will have a pain

[19] Names for the Tao.

[20] Three small States. Is Yao's wish to smite an instance of the "quality" of "emulation" or jealousy?

[21] Both Taoistic worthies of the time of Yao, supposed to have been two of the Perfect Ones whom Yao visited on the distant hill of Ku-shih.

in his loins, and half his body will be as if it were dead; but will it be so with an eel? If he be living in a tree, he will be frightened and all in a tremble; but will it be so with a monkey? And does any one of the three know his right place? Men eat animals that have been fed on grain and grass; deer feed on the thick-set grass; centipedes enjoy small snakes; owls and crows delight in mice; but does any one of the four know the right taste? The dog-headed monkey finds its mate in the female gibbon; the elk and the axis deer cohabit; and the eel enjoys itself with other fishes. Mao Tshiang [22] and Li Chi [22] were accounted by men to be most beautiful, but when fishes saw them, they dived deep in the water from them; when birds, they flew from them aloft; and when deer saw them, they separated and fled away.[23] But did any of these four know which in the world is the right female attraction?' As I look at the matter, the first principles of benevolence and righteousness and the paths of approval and disapproval are inextricably mixed and confused together: how is it possible that I should know how to discriminate among them?"

Nieh Chueh said further, "Since you, Sir, do not know what is advantageous and what is hurtful, is the Perfect man also in the same way without the knowledge of them?" Wang I replied, "The Perfect man is spirit-like. Great lakes might be boiling about him, and he would not feel their heat; the Ho and the Han might be frozen up, and he would not feel the cold; the hurrying thunderbolts might split the mountains, and the wind shake the ocean, without being able to make him afraid. Being such, he mounts on the clouds of the air, rides on the sun and moon, and rambles at ease beyond the four seas. Neither death nor life makes any change in him, and how much less should the considerations of advantage and injury do so!"

[22] Two famous beauties; the former, a contemporary of the other beauty, Hsi Shih, and like her also, of the State of Yueh; the latter, the daughter of a barbarian chief among the Western Jung. She was captured by Duke Hsien of Tsin, in 672 B.C. He subsequently made her his wife — to the great injury of his family and State.

[23] Not thinking them beautiful, as men did, but frightened and repelled by them.

CHAPTER IX

Chu Tshiao-tze [24] asked Chang-wu Tze,[24] saying, "I heard the Master speaking of such language as the following: 'The sagely man does not occupy himself with worldly affairs. He does not put himself in the way of what is profitable, nor try to avoid what is hurtful; he has no pleasure in seeking for anything from any one; he does not care to be found in any established Way; he speaks without speaking; he does not speak when he speaks; thus finding his enjoyment outside the dust and dirt of the world.' The Master considered all this to be a shoreless flow of mere words, and I consider it to describe the course of the Mysterious Way.—What do you, Sir, think of it?" Chang-wu Tze replied, "The hearing of such words would have perplexed even Hwang-Ti, and how should Chiu be competent to understand them? And you, moreover, are too hasty in forming your estimate of their meaning. You see the egg, and immediately look out for the cock that is to be hatched from it; you see the bow, and immediately look out for the dove that is to be brought down by it being roasted. I will try to explain the thing to you in a rough way; do you in the same way listen to me.

"How could any one stand by the side of the sun and moon, and hold under his arm all space and all time? Such language only means that the sagely man keeps his mouth shut, and puts aside questions that are uncertain and dark; making his inferior capacities unite with him in honoring the One Lord. Men in general bustle about and toil; the sagely man seems stupid and to know nothing. He blends ten thousand years together in the one conception of time; the myriad things all pursue their spontaneous course, and they are all before him as doing so.

"How do I know that the love of life is not a delusion?

[24] We know nothing of these men, but what is mentioned here. If "the master" that immediately follows be Confucius they must have been contemporary with him. By the clause interjected in the translation after the first "Master," I have avoided the incongruity of ascribing the long description of Taoism to Confucius.

and that the dislike of death is not like a young person's losing his way, and not knowing that he is really going home? Li Chi was a daughter of the border Warden of Ai. When the ruler of the State of Tsin first got possession of her, she wept till the tears wetted all the front of her dress. But when she came to the place of the king, shared with him his luxurious couch, and ate his grain-and-grass-fed meat, then she regretted that she had wept. How do I know that the dead do not repent of their former craving for life?

"Those who dream of the pleasures of drinking may in the morning wail and weep; those who dream of wailing and weeping may in the morning be going out to hunt. When they were dreaming they did not know it was a dream; in their dream they may even have tried to interpret it; but when they awoke they knew that it was a dream. And there is the great awaking, after which we shall know that this life was a great dream. All the while, the stupid think they are awake, and with nice discrimination insist on their knowledge; now playing the part of rulers, and now of grooms. Bigoted was that Chiu! He and you are both dreaming. I who say that you are dreaming am dreaming myself. These words seem very strange; but if after ten thousand ages we once meet with a great sage who knows how to explain them, it will be as if we met him unexpectedly some morning or evening.

CHAPTER X

"Since you made me enter into this discussion with you, if you have got the better of me and not I of you, are you indeed right, and I indeed wrong? If I have got the better of you and not you of me, am I indeed right and you indeed wrong? Is the one of us right and the other wrong? are we both right or both wrong? Since we can not come to a mutual and common understanding, men will certainly continue in darkness on the subject.

"Whom shall I employ to adjudicate in the matter? If I employ one who agrees with you, how can he, agreeing with you, do so correctly? And the same may be said, if I employ one who agrees with me. It will be the same if I employ

one who differs from us both or one who agrees with us both. In this way I and you and those others would all not be able to come to a mutual understanding; and shall we then wait for that great sage? We need not do so. To wait on others to learn how conflicting opinions are changed is simply like not so waiting at all. The harmonizing of them is to be found in the invisible operation of Heaven, and by following this on into the unlimited past. It is by this method that we can complete our years without our minds being disturbed.[25]

"What is meant by harmonizing conflicting opinions in the invisible operation of Heaven? There is the affirmation and the denial of it; and there is the assertion of an opinion and the rejection of it. If the affirmation be according to the reality of the fact, it is certainly different from the denial of it: there can be no dispute about that. If the assertion of an opinion be correct, it is certainly different from its rejection: neither can there be any dispute about that. Let us forget the lapse of time; let us forget the conflict of opinions. Let us make our appeal to the Infinite, and take up our position there." [26]

CHAPTER XI

The Penumbra asked the Shadow, saying, "Formerly you were walking on, and now you have stopped; formerly you were sitting, and now you have risen up: how is it that you are so without stability?" The Shadow replied, "I wait for the movements of something else to do what I do, and that something else on which I wait waits further on another to do as it does.[27] My waiting — is it for the scales of a

[25] The phrase which I have called here "the invisible operation of Heaven," is said to be the same as "the Heavenly Mold or Molder," that is, the Heavenly Fashioner, one of the Taoistic names for the Tao.

[26] That is, all things being traced up to the unity of the Tao, we have found the pivot to which all conflicting opinions, all affirmations, all denials, all positions and negatives converge, and bring to bear on them the proper light of the mind.

[27] The mind can not rest in second causes, and the first cause, if there be one, is inscrutable.

snake, or the wings of a cicada? [28] How should I know why I do one thing, or do not do another?

"Formerly, I, Chuang Chau, dreamt that I was a butterfly, a butterfly flying about, feeling that it was enjoying itself. I did not know that it was Chau. Suddenly I awoke, and was myself again, the veritable Chau. I did not know whether it had formerly been Chau dreaming that he was a butterfly, or it was now a butterfly dreaming that it was Chau. But between Chau and a butterfly there must be a difference. This is a case of what is called the Transformation of Things."

Book III

YANG SHANG CHU, OR "NOURISHING THE LORD OF LIFE"

CHAPTER I

There is a limit to our life, but to knowledge there is no limit. With what is limited to pursue after what is unlimited is a perilous thing; and when, knowing this, we still seek the increase of our knowledge, the peril can not be averted.[1] There should not be the practise of what is good with any thought of the fame which it will bring, nor of what is evil with any approximation to the punishment which it will incur:[2] an accordance with the Central Element of our nature[3] is the regular way to preserve the body, to maintain the life, to nourish our parents, and to complete our term of years.

CHAPTER II

His cook[4] was cutting up an ox for the ruler Wan-hui.[4]

[28] Even these must wait for the will of the creature; but the case of the shadow is still more remarkable.

[1] Under what is said about knowledge here there lies the objection of Taoists to the Confucian pursuit of knowledge as the means for the right conduct of life, instead of the quiet simplicity and self-suppression of their own system.

[2] This is the key to the three paragraphs that follow. But the text of it is not easily construed. The "doing good" and the "doing evil" are to be lightly understood.

[3] A name for the Tao.

[4] "The ruler Wan-hui" is understood to be "King Hui of Liang (or

Whenever he applied his hand, leaned forward with his shoulder, planted his foot, and employed the pressure of his knee, in the audible ripping off of the skin, and slicing operation of the knife, the sounds were all in regular cadence. Movements and sounds proceeded as in the dance of "the Mulberry Forest"[5] and the blended notes of "the Ching Shau."[5] The ruler said, "Ah! Admirable! That your art should have become so perfect!" Having finished his operation, the cook laid down his knife, and replied to the remark, "What your servant loves is the method of the Tao, something in advance of any art. When I first began to cut up an ox, I saw nothing but the entire carcass. After three years I ceased to see it as a whole. Now I deal with it in a spirit-like manner, and do not look at it with my eyes. The use of my senses is discarded, and my spirit acts as it wills. Observing the natural lines, my knife slips through the great crevices and slides through the great cavities, taking advantage of the facilities thus presented. My art avoids the membranous ligatures, and much more the great bones.

"A good cook changes his knife every year — it may have been injured in cutting; an ordinary cook changes his every month — it may have been broken. Now my knife has been in use for nineteen years; it has cut up several thousand oxen, and yet its edge is as sharp as if it had newly come from the whetstone. There are the interstices of the joints, and the edge of the knife has no appreciable thickness; when that which is so thin enters where the interstice is, how easily it moves along! The blade has more than room enough. Nevertheless, whenever I come to a complicated joint, and see that there will be some difficulty, I proceed anxiously and with caution, not allowing my eyes to wander from the place, and moving my hand slowly. Then by a very slight movement of the knife, the part is quickly separated, and drops like a clod of earth to the ground. Then standing up with the knife in my hand, I look all round, and in a leisurely

Wei)," with the account of an interview between whom and Mencius the works of that philosopher commence.

[5] Two pieces of music, ascribed to Chang Thang and Hwang-Ti.

manner, with an air of satisfaction, wipe it clean, and put it in its sheath." The ruler Wan-hui said, "Excellent! I have heard the words of my cook, and learned from them the nourishment of our life."

CHAPTER III

When Kung-wan Hsien saw the Master of the Left, he was startled, and said, "What sort of man is this? How is it he has but one foot? Is it from Heaven? or from Man?" Then he added, "It must be from Heaven, and not from Man. Heaven's making of this man caused him to have but one foot. In the person of man, each foot has its marrow. By this I know that his peculiarity is from Heaven, and not from Man. A pheasant of the marshes has to take ten steps to pick up a mouthful of food, and thirty steps to get a drink, but it does not seek to be nourished in a coop. Though its spirit would there enjoy a royal abundance, it does not think such confinement good."

CHAPTER IV

When Lao Tan died, Chin Shih went to condole with his son, but after crying out three times, he came out. The disciples said to him, "Were you not a friend of the Master?" "I was," he replied, and they said, "Is it proper then to offer your condolences merely as you have done?" He said, "It is. At first I thought he was the man of men, and now I do not think so. When I entered a little ago and expressed my condolences, there were the old men wailing as if they had lost a son, and the young men wailing as if they had lost their mother. In his attracting and uniting them to himself in such a way there must have been that which made them involuntarily express their words of condolence, and involuntarily wail, as they were doing. And this was a hiding from himself of his Heaven-nature, and an excessive indulgence of his human feelings; a forgetting of what he had received in being born; what the ancients called the punishment due to neglecting the Heaven-nature. When the Master came, it was at the proper time; when he went away,

it was the simple sequence of his coming. Quiet acquiescence in what happens at its proper time, and quietly submitting to its ceasing afford no occasion for grief or for joy. The ancients described death as the loosening of the cord on which God suspended the life.[6] What we can point to are the faggots that have been consumed; but the fire is transmitted elsewhere, and we know not that it is over and ended.[7]

Book IV

TSAN CHIEN SHIH, OR "MAN IN THE WORLD, ASSOCIATED WITH OTHER MEN"

CHAPTER I

Yen Hui[1] went to see Chung-ni,[2] and asked leave to take his departure. "Where are you going to?" asked the Master. "I will go to Wei," was the reply. "And with what object?" "I have heard that the ruler of Wei is in the vigor of his years, and consults none but himself as to his course. He deals with his State as if it were a light matter, and has no perception of his errors. He thinks lightly of his people's dying; the dead are lying all over the country as if no smaller space could contain them; on the plains and about the marshes, they are as thick as heaps of fuel. The people know not where to turn to. I have heard you, Master, say, 'Leave the State that is well governed; go to the State where disorder prevails.' At the door of a physician there are many who are ill. I wish through what I have heard from you to think out some methods of dealing with Wei, if peradventure the evils of the State may be cured."

Chung-ni said, "Alas! The risk is that you will go only to suffer in the punishment of yourself! The right method

[6] This short sentence is remarkable by the use of the character *Ti*, "God," in it, a usage here ascribed to the ancients.

[7] The concluding sentence might stand as a short paragraph by itself. The "faggots" are understood to represent the body, and the "fire" the animating spirit.

[1] The favorite disciple of Confucius, styled also Tze-yuan.

[2] Confucius; his designation or married name.

in such a case will not admit of any admixture. With such admixture, the one method will become many methods. Their multiplication will embarrass you. That embarrassment will make you anxious. However anxious you may be, you will not save yourself. The perfect men of old first had what they wanted to do in themselves, and afterward they found the response to it in others. If what they wanted in themselves was not fixed, what leisure had they to go and interfere with the proceedings of any tyrannous man?

"Moreover, do you know how virtue is liable to be dissipated, and how wisdom proceeds to display itself? Virtue is dissipated in the pursuit of the name for it, and wisdom seeks to display itself in the striving with others. In the pursuit of the name men overthrow one another; wisdom becomes a weapon of contention. Both these things are instruments of evil, and should not be allowed to have free course in one's conduct. Supposing one's virtue to be great and his sincerity firm, if he do not comprehend the spirit of those whom he wishes to influence; and supposing he is free from the disposition to strive for reputation, if he do not comprehend their minds; when in such a case he forcibly insists on benevolence and righteousness, setting them forth in the strongest and most direct language, before the tyrant, then he, hating his reprover's possession of those excellences, will put him down as doing him injury. He who injures others is sure to be injured by them in return. You indeed will hardly escape being injured by the man to whom you go!

"Further, if perchance he takes pleasure in men of worth and hates those of an opposite character, what is the use of your seeking to make yourself out to be different from such men about him? Before you have begun to announce your views, he, as king and ruler, will take advantage of you, and immediately contend with you for victory. Your eyes will be dazed and full of perplexity; you will try to look pleased with him; you will frame your words with care; your demeanor will be conformed to his; you will confirm him in his views. In this way you will be adding fire to fire, and water to water, increasing, as we may express it, the evils which

you deplore. To these signs of deferring to him at the first there will be no end. You will be in danger, seeing he does not believe you, of making your words more strong, and you are sure to die at the hands of such a tyrant.

"And formerly Chieh[3] killed Kwan Lung-fang,[4] and Chau[5] killed the prince Pi-kan.[6] Both of these cultivated their persons, bending down in sympathy with the lower people to comfort them, suffering as they did from their oppressors, and on their account opposing their superiors. On this account, because they so ordered their conduct, their rulers compassed their destruction: such regard had they for their own fame. Again, Yao anciently attacked the States of Tshung-chih and Hsü-ao, and Yü attacked the ruler of Hu. Those States were left empty, and with no one to continue their population, the people being exterminated. They had engaged in war without ceasing; their craving for whatever they could get was insatiable. And this ruler of Wei is, like them, one who craves after fame and greater substance; have you not heard it? Those sages were not able to overcome the thirst for fame and substance; how much less will you be able to do so! Nevertheless you must have some ground for the course which you wish to take; pray try and tell it to me."

Yen Hui said, "May I go, doing so in uprightness and humility, using also every endeavor to be uniform in my plans of operation?" "No, indeed!" was the reply. "How can you do so? This man makes a display of being filled to overflowing with virtue, and has great self-conceit. His feelings are not to be determined from his countenance. Ordinary men do not venture to oppose him, and he proceeds from the way in which he affects them to seek still more the satisfaction of his own mind. He may be described as unaffected by the small lessons of virtue brought to bear on him from day to day; and how much less will he be so by your great lessons? He will be obstinate, and refuse to be

[3] The tyrant with whom the dynasty of Hsia ended.
[4] A worthy minister of Chieh.
[5] The tyrant with whom the dynasty of Shang or Yin ended.
[6] A half-brother of Chau, the tyrant of the Yin Dynasty.

converted. He may outwardly agree with you, but inwardly there will be no self-condemnation; how can you go to him in this way and be successful?"

Yen Hui rejoined, "Well then; while inwardly maintaining my straightforward intention, I will outwardly seem to bend to him. I will deliver my lessons, and substantiate them by appealing to antiquity. Inwardly maintaining my straightforward intention, I shall be a co-worker with Heaven. When I thus speak of being a co-worker with Heaven, it is because I know that the sovereign, whom we style the son of Heaven, and myself, are equally regarded by Heaven as Its sons. And should I then, as if my words were only my own, be seeking to find whether men approved of them, or disapproved of them? In this way men will pronounce me a sincere and simple[7] boy. This is what is called being a co-worker with Heaven.

"Outwardly bending to the ruler, I shall be a co-worker with other men. To carry the memorandum-tablet to court, to kneel, and to bend the body reverentially — these are the observance of ministers. They all employ them, and should I presume not to do so? Doing what other men do, they would have no occasion to blame me. This is what is called being a fellow worker with other men.

"Fully declaring my sentiments and substantiating them by appealing to antiquity, I shall be a co-worker with the ancients. Although the words in which I convey my lessons may really be condemnatory of the ruler, they will be those of antiquity, and not my own. In this way, though straightforward, I shall be free from blame. This is what is called being a co-worker with antiquity. May I go to Wei in this way, and be successful?" "No, indeed!" said Chung-ni. "How can you do so? You have too many plans of proceeding, and have not spied out the ruler's character. Though you firmly adhere to your plans, you may be held free from transgression, but this will be all the result. How can you in this way produce the transformation which you desire? All this only shows in you the mind of a teacher!"

[7] Entirely unsophisticated, governed by the Tao.

CHAPTER II

Yen Hui said, "I can go no farther; I venture to ask the method from you." Chung-ni replied, "It is fasting, as I will tell you. But when you have the method, will you find it easy to practise it? He who thinks it easy will be disapproved of by the bright Heaven." Hui said, "My family is poor. For months together we have no spirituous drink, nor do we taste the proscribed food or any strong-smelling vegetables; can this be regarded as fasting?" The reply was, "It is the fasting appropriate to sacrificing, but it is not the fasting of the mind." "I venture to ask what that fasting of the mind is," said Hui, and Chung-ni answered, "Maintain a perfect unity in every movement of your will. You will not wait for the hearing of your ears about it, but for the hearing of your mind. You will not wait even for the hearing of your mind, but for the hearing of the spirit. Let the hearing of the ears rest with the ears. Let the mind rest in the verification of the rightness of what is in the will. But the spirit is free from all pre-occupation and so waits for the appearance of things. Where the proper course is,[8] there is freedom from all pre-occupation; such freedom is the fasting of the mind." Hui said,[9] "Before it was possible for me to employ this method, there I was, the Hui that I am; now, that I can employ it, the Hui that I was has passed away. Can I be said to have obtained this freedom from pre-occupation?" The Master replied, "Entirely. I tell you that you can enter and be at ease in the enclosure where he is, and not come into collision with the reputation which belongs to him. If he listen to your counsels, let him hear your notes; if he will not listen, be silent. Open no other door; employ no other medicine; dwell with him as with a friend in the same apartment, and as if you had no other option, and you will not be far from success in your object. Not to move a step is easy; to walk without treading on the ground is difficult. In acting after the man-

[8] The Tao.

[9] "Said"; probably, after having made trial of this fasting.

ner of men, it is easy to fall into hypocrisy; in acting after the manner of Heaven, it is difficult to play the hypocrite. I have heard of flying with wings; I have not heard of flying without them. I have heard of the knowledge of the wise; I have not heard of the knowledge of the unwise. Look at that aperture left in the wall; the empty apartment is filled with light through it. Felicitous influences rest in the mind thus emblemed, as in their proper resting-place. Even when they do not so rest, we have what is called the body seated and the mind galloping abroad. The information that comes through the ears and eyes is comprehended internally, and the knowledge of the mind becomes something external: when this is the case, the spiritual intelligences will come, and take up their dwelling with us, and how much more will other men do so! All things thus undergo a transforming influence. This was the hinge on which Yu and Shun moved; it was this which Fu-hsi and Chi-chu [10] practised all their lives: how much more should other men follow the same rule!"

CHAPTER III

Tze-kao, duke of Sheh, being about to proceed on a mission to Chi, asked Chung-ni, saying, "The king is sending me, Chu-liang, on a mission which is very important. Chi will probably treat me as his commissioner with great respect, but it will not be in a hurry to attend to the business. Even an ordinary man can not be readily moved to action, and how much less the prince of a State! I am very full of apprehension. You, Sir, once said to me that of all things, great or small, there were few which, if not conducted in the proper way,[11] could be brought to a happy conclusion; that, if the thing were not successful, there was sure to be the evil of being dealt with after the manner of men; [12] that, if it were successful, there was sure to be the evil of constant anxiety; and that, whether it succeeded or not, it was only

10 A predecessor of Fu-hsi, a sovereign of the ancient paradisiacal time.

11 Or, "according to the Tao."

12 As a criminal; punished by his sovereign.

the virtuous man who could secure its not being followed by evil. In my diet I take what is coarse, and do not seek delicacies — a man whose cookery does not require him to be using cooling drinks. This morning I received my charge, and in the evening I am drinking iced water; am I not feeling the internal heat and discomfort? Such is my state before I have actually engaged in the affair; I am already suffering from conflicting anxieties. And if the thing do not succeed, the king is sure to deal with me after the manner of men. The evil is twofold; as a minister, I am not able to bear the burden of the mission. Can you, Sir, tell me something to help me in the case?"

Chung-ni replied, "In all things under heaven there are two great cautionary considerations: the one is the requirement implanted in the nature; the other is the conviction of what is right. The love of a son for his parents is the implanted requirement, and can never be separated from his heart; the service of his ruler by a minister is what is right, and from its obligation there is no escaping anywhere between heaven and earth. These are what are called the great cautionary considerations. Therefore a son finds his rest in serving his parents without reference to or choice of place; and this is the height of filial duty. In the same way a subject finds his rest in serving his ruler, without reference to or choice of the business; and this is the fullest discharge of loyalty. When men are simply obeying the dictates of their hearts, the considerations of grief and joy are not readily set before them. They know that there is no alternative to their acting as they do, and rest in it as what is appointed; and this is the highest achievement of virtue. He who is in the position of a minister or of a son has indeed to do what he can not but do. Occupied with the details of the business in hand, and forgetful of his own person, what leisure has he to think of his pleasure in living or his dislike of death? You, my master, may well proceed on your mission.

"But let me repeat to you what I have heard: In all intercourse between States, if they are near to each other, there

should be mutual friendliness, verified by deeds; if they are far apart, there must be sincere adherence to truth in their messages. Those messages will be transmitted by internuncios. But to convey messages which express the complacence or the dissatisfaction of the two parties is the most difficult thing in the world. If they be those of mutual complacence, there is sure to be an overflow of expressions of satisfaction; if of mutual dissatisfaction, an overflow of expressions of dislike. But all extravagance leads to reckless language, and such language fails to command belief. When this distrust arises, woe to the internuncio! Hence the Rules for Speech [13] say, 'Transmit the message exactly as it stands; do not transmit it with any overflow of language; so is the internuncio likely to keep himself whole.'

CHAPTER IV

"Moreover, skilful wrestlers begin with open trials of strength, but always end with masked attempts to gain the victory; as their excitement grows excessive, they display much wonderful dexterity. Parties drinking according to the rules at first observe good order, but always end with disorder; as their excitement grows excessive, their fun becomes uproarious. In all things it is so. People are at first sincere, but always end with becoming rude; at the commencement things are treated as trivial, but as the end draws near, they assume great proportions. Words are like the waves acted on by the wind; the real point of the matters discussed by them is lost. The wind and waves are easily set in motion; the success of the matter of which the real point is lost is easily put in peril. Hence quarrels are occasioned by nothing so much as by artful words and one-sided speeches. The breath comes angrily, as when a beast, driven to death, wildly bellows forth its rage. On this animosities arise on both sides. Hasty examination of the case eagerly proceeds, and revengeful thoughts arise in their minds — they do not know how. Since they do not know how such thoughts arise, who knows how they will end? Hence the Rules for Speech

[13] Probably a Collection of Directions current at the time.

say, 'Let not an internuncius depart from his instructions. Let him not urge on a settlement. If he go beyond the regular rules, he will complicate matters. Departing from his instructions and urging on a settlement imperils negotiations. A good settlement is proved by its lasting long, and a bad settlement can not be altered; ought he not to be careful?'

"Further still, let your mind find its enjoyment in the circumstances of your position; nourish the central course which you pursue, by a reference to your unavoidable obligations. This is the highest object for you to pursue; what else can you do to fulfil the charge of your father and ruler?[14] The best thing you can do is to be prepared to sacrifice your life; and this is the most difficult thing to do."

CHAPTER V

Yen Ho, being about to undertake the office of Teacher of the eldest son of Duke Ling of Wei, consulted Chu Po-yu. "Here," said he, "is this young man, whose natural disposition is as bad as it could be. If I allow him to proceed in a bad way, it will be at the peril of our State; if I insist on his proceeding in a right way, it will be at the peril of my own person. His wisdom is just sufficient to know the errors of other men, but he does not know how he errs himself. What am I to do in such a case?" Chu Po-yu replied, "Good indeed is your question! Be on your guard; be careful; see that you keep yourself correct! Your best plan will be, with your person to seek association with him, and with your mind to try to be in harmony with him; and yet there are dangers connected with both of these things. While seeking to keep near to him, do not enter into his pursuits; while cultivating a harmony of mind with him, do not show how superior you are to him. If in your personal association you enter into his pursuits, you will fall with him and be ruined, you will tumble down with a crash. If in maintaining a harmony with his mind, you show how different you are from him, he will think you do so for the reputation

[14] Not meaning the king of Chu; but the Tao, whose will was to be found in his nature and the conditions of his lot.

and the name, and regard you as a creature of evil omen. If you find him to be a mere boy, be you with him as another boy; if you find him one of those who will not have their ground marked out in the ordinary way, do you humor him in this characteristic;[15] if you find him to be free from lofty airs, show yourself to be the same — ever leading him on so as to keep him free from faults.

"Do you not know the fate of the praying mantis? It angrily stretches out its arms, to arrest the progress of the carriage, unconscious of its inability for such a task, but showing how much it thinks of its own powers. Be on your guard; be careful. If you cherish a boastful confidence in your own excellence, and place yourself in collision with him, you are likely to incur the fate of the mantis.

"Do you not know how those who keep tigers proceed? They do not dare to supply them with living creatures, because of the rage which their killing of them will excite. They do not even dare to give them their food whole, because of the rage which their rending of it will excite. They watch till their hunger is appeased, dealing with them from their knowledge of their natural ferocity. Tigers are different from men, but they fawn on those who feed them, and do so in accordance with their nature. When any of these are killed by them, it is because they have gone against that nature.

"Those again who are fond of horses preserve their dung in baskets, and their urine in jars. If mosquitoes and gadflies light on them, and the grooms brush them suddenly away, the horses break their bits, injure the ornaments on their heads, and smash those on their breasts. The more care that is taken of them, the more does their fondness for their attendants disappear. Ought not caution to be exercised in the management of them?"

CHAPTER VI

A master mechanic, called Shih, on his way to Chi, came to Chu-yuan, where he saw an oak-tree, which was used as

[15] Equivalent to "Do not cross him in his peculiarities."

the altar for the spirits of the land. It was so large that an ox standing behind it could not be seen. It measured a hundred spans round, and rose up eighty cubits on the hill before it threw out any branches, after which there were ten or so, from each of which a boat could be hollowed out. People came to see it in crowds as in a market-place, but the mechanic did not look round at it, but held on his way without stopping. One of his workmen, however, looked long and admiringly at it, and then ran on to his master, and said to him, "Since I followed you with my axe and bill, I have never seen such a beautiful mass of timber as this. Why would you, Sir, not look round at it, but went on without stopping?" "Have done," said Mr. Shih, "and do not speak about it. It is quite useless. A boat made from its wood would sink; a coffin or shell would quickly rot; an article of furniture would soon go to pieces; a door would be covered with the exuding sap; a pillar would be riddled by insects; the material of it is good for nothing, and hence it is that it has attained to so great an age." [16]

When Mr. Shih was returning, the altar-oak appeared to him in a dream, and said, "What other tree will you compare with me? Will you compare me to one of your ornamental trees? There are hawthorns, pear-trees, orange-trees, pummelo-trees, gourds and other low fruit-bearing plants. When their fruits are ripe, they are knocked down from them, and thrown among the dirt. The large branches are broken, and the smaller are torn away. So it is that their productive ability makes their lives bitter to them; they do not complete their natural term of existence, but come to a premature end in the middle of their time, bringing on themselves the destructive treatment which they ordinarily receive. It is so with all things. I have sought to discover how it was that I was so useless; — I had long done so, till the effort nearly caused my death; and now I have learned it — it has been of the greatest use to me. Suppose that I had possessed useful properties, should I have become of the great size that I am? And, moreover, you and I are

[16] No one has thought it worth cutting down.

both things; how should one thing thus pass its judgment on another? how is it that you, a useless man, know all this about me, a useless tree?" When Mr. Shih awoke, he kept thinking about his dream, but the workman said, "Being so taken with its uselessness, how is it that it yet acts here as the altar for the spirits of the land?" "Be still," was the master's reply, "and do not say a word. It simply happened to grow here; and thus those who do not know it do not speak ill of it as an evil thing. If it were not used as the altar, would it be in danger of being cut down? Moreover, the reason of its being preserved is different from that of the preservation of things generally; is not your explaining it from the sentiment which you have expressed wide of the mark?"

CHAPTER VII

Nan-po Tze-chi, in rambling about the Heights of Shang, saw a large and extraordinary tree. The teams of a thousand chariots might be sheltered under it, and its shade would cover them all! Tze-chi said, "What a tree is this! It must contain an extraordinary amount of timber! When he looked up, however, at its smaller branches, they were so twisted and crooked that they could not be made into rafters and beams; when he looked down to its root, its stem was divided into so many rounded portions that neither coffin nor shell could be made from them. He licked one of its leaves, and his mouth felt torn and wounded. The smell of it would make a man frantic, as if intoxicated, for more than three whole days together. "This, indeed," said he, "is a tree good for nothing, and it is thus that it has attained to such a size. Ah! and spirit-like men acknowledge this worthlessness and its result."

In Sung there is the district of Ching-shih, in which *catalpae,* cypresses, and mulberry-trees grow well. Those of them which are a span or two or rather more in circumference are cut down by persons who want to make posts to which to tie their monkeys; those which are three or four spans round are cut down by persons who want beams for their lofty and famous houses; and those of seven or eight

spans are cut down by noblemen and rich merchants who want single planks for the sides of their coffins. The trees in consequence do not complete their natural term of life, and come to a premature end in the middle of their growth under the axe and bill; this is the evil that befalls them from their supplying good timber.

In the same way the Chieh [17] book specifies oxen that have white foreheads, pigs that have turned-up snouts, and men that are suffering from piles, and forbids their being sacrificed to the Ho. The wizards know them by these peculiarities and consider them to be inauspicious, but spirit-like men consider them on this account to be very fortunate.

CHAPTER VIII

There was the deformed object Shu.[18] His chin seemed to hide his navel; his shoulders were higher than the crown of his head; the knot of his hair pointed to the sky; his five viscera were all compressed into the upper part of his body, and his two thigh bones were like ribs. By sharpening needles and washing clothes he was able to make a living. By sifting rice and cleaning it, he was able to support ten individuals. When the government was calling out soldiers, this poor Shu would bare his arms among the others; when it had any great service to be undertaken, because of his constant ailments, none of the work was assigned to him; when it was giving out grain to the sick, he received three *chung,* and ten bundles of firewood. If this poor man, so deformed in body, was still able to support himself, and complete his term of life, how much more may they do so, whose deformity is that of their faculties! [19]

CHAPTER IX

When Confucius went to Chu, Chieh-yu, the madman of

[17] Probably the name of an old work on sacrifices. But was there ever a time in China when human sacrifices were offered to the Ho, or on any altar?

[18] One of Chuang-tze's creations.

[19] The deficiency of their faculties — here mental faculties — would assimilate them to the useless trees in the last two paragraphs, whose uselessness only proved useful to them.

Chu,[20] as he was wandering about, passed by his door, and said, "O Phoenix, O Phoenix, how is your virtue degenerated! The future is not to be waited for; the past is not to be sought again! When good order prevails in the world, the sage tries to accomplish all his service; when disorder prevails, he may preserve his life; at the present time, it is enough if he simply escape being punished. Happiness is lighter than a feather, but no one knows how to support it; calamity is heavier than the earth, and yet no one knows how to avoid it. Give over! give over approaching men with the lessons of your virtue! You are in peril! you are in peril, hurrying on where you have marked out the ground against your advance! I avoid publicity, I avoid publicity, that my path may not be injured. I pursue my course, now going backward, now crookedly, that my feet may not be hurt.[21]

"The mountain by its trees weakens itself.[22] The grease which ministers to the fire fries itself. The cinnamon-tree can be eaten, and therefore it is cut down. The varnish-tree is useful, and therefore incisions are made in it. All men know the advantage of being useful, but no one knows the advantage of being useless."

Book V

TEH CHUNG FU, OR "THE SEAL OF VIRTUE COMPLETE"

CHAPTER I

In Lu [1] there was a Wang Thai [2] who had lost both his

20 See the Analects, XVIII.

21 The madman would seem to contrast his own course with that of Confucius; but the meaning is very uncertain. There is a jingle of rhyme also in the sentence, and some critics find something like this in them:

> "Ye ferns, ye thorny ferns, O injure not my way!
> To save my feet, I backward turn, or winding stray!"

22 Literally, "robs itself"; exhausts its moisture or productive strength.

1 The native State of Confucius, part of the present Shan-tung.

2 A Taoist of complete virtue; but probably there was not really such a person. Our author fabricates him according to his fashion.

feet; while his disciples who followed and went about with him were as numerous as those of Chung-ni.[3] Chang Chi[4] asked Chung-ni about him, saying, "Though Wang Thai is a cripple, the disciples who follow him about divide Lu equally with you, Master. When he stands, he does not teach them; when he sits, he does not discourse to them. But they go to him empty, and come back full. Is there indeed such a thing as instruction without words?[5] and while the body is imperfect, may the mind be complete? What sort of man is he?"

Chung-ni replied, "This master is a sage. I have only been too late in going to him. I will make him my teacher; and how much more should those do so who are not equal to me! Why should only the State of Lu follow him? I will lead on all under heaven with me to do so." Chang Chi rejoined, "He is a man who has lost his feet, and yet he is known as the venerable Wang; he must be very different from ordinary men. What is the peculiar way in which he employs his mind?" The reply was, "Death and life are great considerations, but they could work no change in him. Though heaven and earth were to be overturned and fall, they would occasion him no loss. His judgment is fixed regarding that in which there is no element of falsehood;[6] and, while other things change, he changes not. The transformations of things are to him the developments prescribed for them, and he keeps fast hold of the author of them."[6]

Chang Chi said, "What do you mean?" "When we look at things," said Chung-ni, "as they differ, we see them to be different, as for instance the liver and the gall, or Chu and Yueh; when we look at them, as they agree, we see them all to be a unity. So it is with this Wang Thai. He takes no knowledge of the things for which his ears and eyes are the appropriate organs, but his mind delights itself in the

[3] Chung-ni is one of the many titles for Confucius, or Kung.

[4] Perhaps a disciple of Confucius; not elsewhere mentioned as such.

[5] See the "Tao-Teh King," chapter II.

[6] "That in which there is no element of falsehood" is the Tao, which also is the "Author" of all the changes that take place in time and space.

harmony of all excellent qualities. He looks at the unity which belongs to things, and does not perceive where they have suffered loss. He looks on the loss of his feet as only the loss of so much earth."

Chang Chi said, "He is entirely occupied with his proper self.[7] By his knowledge he has discovered the nature of his mind, and to that he holds as what is unchangeable;[7] but how is it that men make so much of him?" The reply was, "Men do not look into running water as a mirror, but into still water; it is only the still water that can arrest them all, and keep them in the contemplation of their real selves. Of things which are what they are by the influence of the earth, it is only the pine and cypress which are the best instances; in winter as in summer brightly green. Of those which were what they were by the influence of Heaven, the most correct examples were Yao and Shun; fortunate in thus maintaining their own life correct, and so as to correct the lives of others.

"As a verification of the power of the original endowment, when it has been preserved, take the result of fearlessness — how the heroic spirit of a single brave soldier has been thrown into an army of nine hosts. If a man only seeking for fame and able in this way to secure it can produce such an effect, how much more may we look for a greater result from one whose rule is over heaven and earth, and holds all things in his treasury, who simply has his lodging in the six members[8] of his body, whom his ears and eyes serve but as conveying emblematic images of things, who comprehends all his knowledge in a unity and whose mind never dies! If such a man were to choose a day on which he would ascend far on high, men would seek to follow him there. But how should he be willing to occupy himself with other men?"

CHAPTER II

Shan-thu Chia[9] was another man who had lost his feet. Along with Tze-chan of Chang he studied under the master

[7] Wang Thai saw all things in the Tao, and the Tao in all things.
[8] The arms, legs, head, and trunk.
[9] Another cripple introduced by our author to serve his purpose.

Po-hwan Wu-tsan. Tze-chan said to him one day, "If I go out first, do you remain behind; and if you go out first, I will remain behind." Next day they were again sitting together on the same mat in the hall, when Tze-chan spoke the same words to him, adding, "Now I am about to go out; will you stay behind or not? Moreover, when you see one of official rank like myself, you do not try to get out of his way; do you consider yourself equal to one of official rank?" Shan-thu Chia replied, "In our Master's school is there indeed such recognition required of official rank? You are one, Sir, whose pleasure is in your official rank, and would therefore take precedence of other men. I have heard that when a mirror is bright, the dust does not rest on it; when dust rests on it the mirror is not bright. When one dwells long with a man of ability and virtue, he comes to be without error. There now is our teacher whom you have chosen to make you greater than you are; and when you still talk in this way, are you not in error?" Tze-chan rejoined, "A shattered object as you are, you would still strive to make yourself out as good as Yao! If I may form an estimate of your virtue, might it not be sufficient to lead you to the examination of yourself?" The other said, "Most criminals, in describing their offenses, would make it out that they ought not to have lost their feet for them; few would describe them so as to make it appear that they should not have preserved their feet. They are only the virtuous who know that such a calamity was unavoidable, and therefore rest in it as what was appointed for them. When men stand before an archer like I [10] with his bent bow, if they are in the middle of his field, that is the place where they should be hit; and if they be not hit, that also was appointed. There are many with their feet entire who laugh at me because I have lost my feet, which makes me feel vexed and angry. But when I go to our teacher, I throw off that feeling, and return to a better mood; he has washed, without my knowing it, the other from me by his instructions in what is good.

[10] A famous archer of antiquity in the twenty-second century B.C., or perhaps earlier.

I have attended him now for nineteen years, and have not known that I am without my feet. Now, you, Sir, and I have for the object of our study the virtue which is internal, and not an adjunct of the body, and yet you are continually directing your attention to my external body; are you not wrong in this?" Tze-chan felt uneasy, altered his manner and looks, and said, "You need not, Sir, say anything more about it."

CHAPTER III

In Lu there was a cripple, called Shu-shan the Toeless,[11] who came on his heels to see Chung-ni. Chung-ni said to him, "By your want of circumspection in the past, Sir, you have incurred such a calamity; of what use is your coming to me now?" Toeless said, "Through my ignorance of my proper business and taking too little care of my body, I came to lose my feet. But now I am come to you, still possessing what is more honorable than my feet, and which therefore I am anxious to preserve entire. There is nothing which Heaven does not cover, and nothing which Earth does not sustain; you, Master, were regarded by me as doing the part of Heaven and Earth; how could I know that you would receive me in such a way?" Confucius rejoined, "I am but a poor creature. But why, my master, do you not come inside, where I will try to tell you what I have learned?" When Toeless had gone out, Confucius said, "Be stimulated to effort, my disciples. This toeless cripple is still anxious to learn to make up for the evil of his former conduct; — how much more should those be so whose conduct has been unchallenged!"

Mr. Toeless, however, told Lao Tan of the interview, saying, "Khung Chiu, I apprehend, has not yet attained to be a Perfect man. What has he to do with keeping a crowd of disciples around him? He is seeking to have the reputation of being an extraordinary and marvelous man, and does not know that the Perfect man considers this to be as handcuffs and fetters to him." Lao Tan said, "Why did you not

11 "Toeless" is a sort of nickname. Shu-shan or Shu hill was, probably, where he dwelt: "Toeless of Shu hill."

simply lead him to see the unity of life and death, and that the admissible and inadmissible belong to one category, so freeing him from his fetters? Would this be possible?" Toeless said, "It is the punishment inflicted on him by Heaven.[12] How can he be freed from it?"

CHAPTER IV

Duke Ai of Lu [13] asked Chung-ni, saying, "There was an ugly man in Wei, called Ai-thai Tho.[14] His father-in-law, who lived with him, thought so much of him that he could not be away from him. His wife, when she saw him ugly as he was, represented to her parents, saying, 'I had more than ten times rather be his concubine than the wife of any other man.' [15] He was never heard to take the lead in discussion, but always seemed to be of the same opinion with others. He had not the position of a ruler, so as to be able to save men from death. He had no revenues, so as to be able to satisfy men's craving for food. He was ugly enough, moreover, to scare the whole world. He agreed with men instead of trying to lead them to adopt his views; his knowledge did not go beyond his immediate neighborhood. And yet his father-in-law and his wife were of one mind about him in his presence, as I have said; he must have been different from other men. I called him, and saw him. Certainly he was ugly enough to scare the whole world. He had not lived with me, however, for many months, when I was drawn to the man; and before he had been with me a full year, I had confidence in him. The State being without a chief minister, I was minded to commit the government to him. He responded to my proposal sorrowfully, and looked undecided as if he would fain have declined it. I was ashamed of myself as inferior to him, but finally gave the government

[12] "Heaven" here is a synonym of Tao. Perhaps the meaning is "unavoidable"; it is so in the Taoistic order of things.

[13] It was in the sixteenth year of Duke Ai that Confucius died. Ai was marquis of Lu from 494 to 468 B.C.

[14] The account of Ai-thai Tho is of course Chuang-tze's own fabrication. Ai-thai is understood to be descriptive of his ugliness, and Tho to be his name.

[15] Perhaps this was spoken by his wife before their marriage.

into his hands. In a little time, however, he left me and went away. I was sorry and felt that I had sustained a loss, and as if there were no other to share the pleasures of the kingdom with me. What sort of man was he?"

Chung-ni said, "Once when I was sent on a mission to Chu, I saw some pigs sucking at their dead mother. After a little they looked with rapid glances, when they all left her, and ran away. They felt that she did not see them, and that she was no longer like themselves. What they had loved in their mother was not her bodily figure, but what had given animation to her figure. When a man dies in battle, they do not at his interment employ the usual appendages of plumes: as to supplying shoes to one who has lost his feet, there is no reason why he should care for them; in neither case is there the proper reason for their use. The members of the royal harem do not pare their nails nor pierce their ears; when a man is newly married, he remains for a time absent from his official duties, and unoccupied with them. That their bodies might be perfect was sufficient to make them thus dealt with; how much greater results should be expected from men whose mental gifts are perfect! This Ai-thai Tho was believed by men, though he did not speak a word; and was loved by them, though he did no special service for them. He made men appoint him to the government of their States, afraid only that he would not accept the appointment. He must have been a man whose powers were perfect, though his realization of them was not manifested in his person."

Duke Ai said, "What is meant by saying that his powers were complete?" Chung-ni replied, "Death and life, preservation and ruin, failure and success, poverty and wealth, superiority and inferiority, blame and praise, hunger and thirst, cold and heat — these are the changes of circumstances, the operation of our appointed lot. Day and night they succeed to one another before us, but there is no wisdom able to discover to what they owe their origination. They are not sufficient therefore to disturb the harmony of the nature, and are not allowed to enter into the treasury of in-

telligence. To cause this harmony and satisfaction ever to be diffused, while the feeling of pleasure is not lost from the mind; to allow no break to arise in this state day or night, so that it is always spring-time [16] in his relations with external things; in all his experiences to realize in his mind what is appropriate to each season of the year — these are the characteristics of him whose powers are perfect."

"And what do you mean by the realization of these powers not being manifested in the person?" pursued further the duke. The reply was, "There is nothing so level as the surface of a pool of still water. It may serve as an example of what I mean. All within its circuit is preserved in peace, and there comes to it no agitation from without. The virtuous efficacy is the perfect cultivation of the harmony of the nature. Though the realization of this be not manifested in the person, things can not separate themselves from its influence."

Some days afterward Duke Ai told this conversation to Min-tze, saying, "Formerly it seemed to me the work of the sovereign to stand in court with his face to the south, to rule the kingdom, and to pay good heed to the accounts of the people concerned, lest any should come to a miserable death — this I considered to be the sum of his duty. Now that I have heard that description of the Perfect man, I fear that my idea is not the real one, and that, by employing myself too lightly, I may cause the ruin of my State. I and Chung Chiu are not on the footing of ruler and subject, but on that of a virtuous friendship."

CHAPTER V

A person who had no lips, whose legs were bent so that he could only walk on his toes, and who was otherwise deformed, addressed his counsels to Duke Ling of Wei, who was so pleased with him, that he looked on a perfectly formed man as having a lean and small neck in comparison with him. Another who had a large goitre like an earthenware jar addressed his counsels to Duke Hwan of Chi, who was so pleased

[16] Specially the season of complacent enjoyment.

with him that he looked on a perfectly formed man as having a neck lean and small in comparison with him.[17] So it is that when one's virtue is extraordinary, any deficiency in his bodily form may be forgotten. When men do not forget what is easily forgotten, and forget what is not easily forgotten, we have a case of real oblivion. Therefore the sagely man has that in which his mind finds its enjoyment, and looks on wisdom as but the shoots from an old stump; agreements with others are to him but so much glue; kindnesses are but the arts of intercourse; and great skill is but as merchants' wares. The sagely man lays no plans; of what use would wisdom be to him? He has no cutting and hacking to do; of what use would glue be to him? He has lost nothing; of what use would arts of intercourse be to him? He has no goods to dispose of; what need has he to play the merchant? The want of these four things is the nourishment of his Heavenly nature; that nourishment is its Heavenly food. Since he receives this food from Heaven, what need has he for anything of man's devising? He has the bodily form of man, but not the passions and desires of other men. He has the form of man, and therefore he is a man. Being without the passions and desires of men, their approvings and disapprovings are not to be found in him. How insignificant and small is the body by which he belongs to humanity! How grand and great is he in the unique perfection of his Heavenly nature!

Hui-tze said to Chuang-tze, "Can a man indeed be without desires and passions?" The reply was, "He can." "But on what grounds do you call him a man, who is thus without passions and desires?" Chuang-tze said, "The Tao[18] gives him his personal appearance and powers; Heaven gives him his bodily form; how should we not call him a man?" Hui-tze rejoined, "Since you call him a man, how can he be without passions and desires?" The

[17] Lin Hsi-chung wonders whether the story of the man who was so taken with the charms of a one-eyed courtezan, that he thought other women all had an eye too many, was taken from this!

[18] Lu Shu-chih maintains here that "the Tao" and "Heaven" have the same meaning.

reply was, "You are misunderstanding what I mean by passions and desires. What I mean when I say that he is without these is, that this man does not by his likings and dislikings do any inward harm to his body; he always pursues his course without effort, and does not try to increase his store of life." Hui-tze rejoined, "If there were not that increasing of the amount of life, how would he get his body?" Chuang-tze said, "The Tao gives him his personal appearance and powers; Heaven gives him his bodily form; and he does not by his likings and dislikings do any internal harm to his body. But now you, Sir, deal with your spirit as if it were something external to you, and subject your vital powers to toil. You sing your ditties, leaning against a tree; you go to sleep, grasping the stump of a rotten dryandra-tree. Heaven selected for you the bodily form of a man, and you babble about what is strong and what is white." [19]

Book VI

TA TSUNG SHIH, OR "THE GREAT AND MOST HONORED MASTER"

CHAPTER I

He who knows the part which the Heavenly [1] in him plays, and knows also that which the Human [1] in him ought to play, has reached the perfection of knowledge. He who knows the part which the Heavenly plays knows that it is naturally born with him; he who knows the part which the Human ought to play proceeds with the knowledge which he possesses to nourish it in the direction of what he does not yet know: [2] to complete one's natural term of years and

[19] Chuang-tze beats down his opponent, and contemptuously refers to some of his well-known peculiarities.

[1] Both "Heaven" and "Man" here are used in the Taoistic sense — the meaning which the terms commonly have both with Lao and Chuang.

[2] The middle member of this sentence is said to be the practical outcome of all that is said in the Book; conducting the student of the Tao to an unquestioning submission to the experiences in his lot, which are beyond his comprehension, and approaching nearly to what we understand by the Christian virtue of "Faith."

not come to an untimely end in the middle of his course is the fulness of knowledge. Although it be so, there is an evil attending this condition. Such knowledge still awaits the confirmation of it as correct; it does so because it is not yet determined. How do we know that what we call the Heavenly in us is not the Human? and that what we call the Human is not the Heavenly? There must be the True man, and then there is the True knowledge.

CHAPTER II

What is meant by "the True Man"? The True men of old did not reject the views of the few; they did not seek to accomplish their ends like heroes before others; they did not lay plans to attain those ends. Being such, though they might make mistakes, they had no occasion for repentance; though they might succeed, they had no self-complacency. Being such, they could ascend the loftiest heights without fear; they could pass through water without being made wet by it; they could go into fire without being burnt; so it was that by their knowledge they ascended to and reached the Tao.

The True men of old did not dream when they slept, had no anxiety when they awoke, and did not care that their food should be pleasant. Their breathing came deep and silently. The breathing of the true man comes even from his heels, while men generally breathe only from their throats. When men are defeated in argument, their words come from their gullets as if they were vomiting. Where lusts and desires are deep, the springs of the Heavenly are shallow.

The True men of old knew nothing of the love of life or of the hatred of death. Entrance into life occasioned them no joy; the exit from it awakened no resistance. Composedly they went and came. They did not forget what their beginning had been, and they did not inquire into what their end would be. They accepted their life and rejoiced in it; they forgot all fear of death, and returned to their state before life. Thus there was in them what is called the want of any mind to resist the Tao, and of all attempts by means

of the Human to assist the Heavenly. Such were they who are called the True men.

CHAPTER III

Being such, their minds were free from all thought; their demeanor was still and unmoved; their foreheads beamed simplicity. Whatever coldness came from them was like that of autumn; whatever warmth came from them was like that of spring. Their joy and anger assimilated to what we see in the four seasons. They did in regard to all things what was suitable, and no one could know how far their action would go. Therefore the sagely man might, in his conduct of war, destroy a State without losing the hearts of the people; his benefits and favors might extend to a myriad generations without his being a lover of men. Hence he who tries to share his joys with others is not a sagely man; he who manifests affection is not benevolent; he who observes times and seasons to regulate his conduct is not a man of wisdom; he to whom profit and injury are not the same is not a superior man; he who acts for the sake of the name of doing so, and loses his proper self, is not the right scholar; and he who throws away his person in a way which is not the true way can not command the service of others. Such men as Hu Pu-Chieh, Wu Kwang, Po-i, Shu-chi, the count of Chi, Hsu-yu, Chi Tha, and Shan-thu Ti, all did service for other men, and sought to secure for them what they desired, not seeking their own pleasure.[3]

CHAPTER IV

The True men of old presented the aspect of judging others

[3] The seven men mentioned here are all adduced, I must suppose, as instances of good and worthy men, but still inferior to the True Man. Of Hu Pu-Chieh all that we are told is that he was "an ancient worthy." One account of Wu Kwang is that he was of the time of Hwang-Ti, with ears seven inches long; another, that he was of the time of Thang, of the Shang Dynasty. Po-i and Shu-chi are known to us from the Analects; and also the count of Chi, whose name, it is said, was Hsu-yu. I can find nothing about Chi Tha. Shan-thu Ti was of the Yin Dynasty, a contemporary of Thang. He drowned himself in the Ho. Most of these are referred to in other places.

aright, but without being partizans; of feeling their own insufficiency, but being without flattery or cringing. Their peculiarities were natural to them, but they were not obstinately attached to them; their humility was evident, but there was nothing of unreality or display about it. Their placidity and satisfaction had the appearance of joy; their every movement seemed to be a necessity to them. Their accumulated attractiveness drew men's looks to them; their blandness fixed men's attachment to their virtue. They seemed to accommodate themselves to the manners of their age, but with a certain severity; their haughty indifference was beyond its control. Unceasing seemed their endeavors to keep their mouths shut; when they looked down, they had forgotten what they wished to say.

They considered punishments to be the substance of government, and they never incurred them; ceremonies to be its supporting wings, and they always observed them; wisdom to indicate the time for action, and they always selected it; and virtue to be accordance with others, and they were all-accordant. Considering punishments to be the substance of government, yet their generosity appeared in the manner of their infliction of death. Considering ceremonies to be its supporting wings, they pursued by means of them their course in the world. Considering wisdom to indicate the time for action, they felt it necessary to employ it in the direction of affairs. Considering virtue to be accordance with others, they sought to ascend its heights along with all who had feet to climb it. Such were they, and yet men really thought that they did what they did by earnest effort.[4]

CHAPTER V

In this way they were one and the same in all their likings and dislikings. Where they liked, they were the same; where they did not like, they were the same. In the former case where they liked, they were fellow workers with the Heavenly in them; in the latter where they disliked, they

[4] All this paragraph is taken as illustrative of the True man's freedom from thought or purpose in his course.

were co-workers with the Human in them. The one of these elements in their nature did not overcome the other. Such were those who are called the True men.

Death and life are ordained, just as we have the constant succession of night and day — in both cases from Heaven. Men have no power to do anything in reference to them — such is the constitution of things. There are those who specially regard Heaven [5] as their father, and they still love It, distant as It is; — how much more should they love That which stands out Superior and Alone! [6] Some specially regard their ruler as superior to themselves, and will give their bodies to die for him; how much more should they do so for That which is their true Ruler! [6] When the springs are dried up, the fishes collect together on the land. Than that they should moisten one another there by the damp about them, and keep one another wet by their slime, it would be better for them to forget one another in the rivers and lakes.[7] And when men praise Yao and condemn Chieh, it would be better to forget them both, and seek the renovation of the Tao.

CHAPTER VI

There is the great Mass of nature; I find the support of my body on it; my life is spent in toil on it; my old age seeks ease on it; at death I find rest in it; what makes my life a good makes my death also a good.[8] If you hide away a boat in the ravine of a hill, and hide away the hill in a lake, you will say that the boat is secure; but at midnight there shall come a strong man and carry it off on his back, while you in the dark know nothing about it. You may hide away anything, whether small or great, in the

[5] Love is due to a parent, and so such persons should love Heaven. There is in the text here, I think, an unconscious reference to the earliest time, before the views of the earliest Chinese diverged to Theism and Taoism.

[6] The great and most honored Master—the Tao.

[7] This sentence contrasts the cramping effect on the mind of Confucianism with the freedom given by the doctrine of the Tao.

[8] The Tao does this. The whole paragraph is an amplification of the view given in the preceding note.

most suitable place, and yet it shall disappear from it. But if you could hide the world in the world,[9] so that there was nowhere to which it could be removed, this would be the grand reality of the ever-during Thing. When the body of man comes from its special mold, there is even then occasion for joy; but this body undergoes a myriad transformations, and does not immediately reach its perfection; does it not thus afford occasion for joys incalculable? Therefore the sagely man enjoys himself in that form which there is no possibility of separation, and by which all things are preserved. He considers early death or old age, his beginning and his ending, all to be good, and in this other men imitate him; how much more will they do so in regard to That Itself on which all things depend, and from which every transformation arises!

CHAPTER VII

This is the Tao; there is in It emotion and sincerity, but It does nothing, and has no bodily form.[10] It may be handed down by the teacher, but may not be received by his scholars. It may be apprehended by the mind, but It can not be seen. It has Its root and ground of existence in Itself. Before there were heaven and earth, from of old, there It was, securely existing. From It came the mysterious existences of spirits, from It the mysterious existence of God.[11] It produced heaven; It produced earth. It was before the Thai-chi [12] and yet could not be considered high; [13]

9 The Tao can not be taken away. It is with its possessor, an "ever-during thing."

10 Our author has done with "the True Man," and now brings in the Tao itself as his subject. Compare the predicates of It here with Book II, chapter II. But there are other, and perhaps higher, things said of it here.

11 Men at a very early time came to believe in the existence of their spirits after death, and in the existence of a Supreme Ruler or God. It was to the Tao that those concepts were owing.

12 The primal ether out of which all things were fashioned by the interaction of the Yin and Yang. This was something like the current idea of protoplasm; but while protoplasm lies down in the lower parts of the earth, the Thai-chi was imagined to be in the higher regions of space.

13 See next page.

it was below all space, and yet could not be considered deep.[13] It was produced before heaven and earth, and yet could not be considered to have existed long;[13] It was older than the highest antiquity, and yet could not be considered old.[13]

Shih-wei[14] got It, and by It adjusted heaven and earth. Fu-hsi got It, and by It penetrated to the mystery of the maternity of the primary matter. The Wei-tau[15] got It, and from all antiquity has made no eccentric movement. The Sun and Moon got It, and from all antiquity have not intermitted their bright shining. Khan-pei got It, and by It became lord of Khwan-lun.[16] Fang-i[17] got It, and by It enjoyed himself in the Great River. Chien Wu[18] got It, and by It dwelt on mount Thai. Hwang-Ti[19] got It, and by It ascended the cloudy sky. Chuan-hsu[20] got It, and by It dwelt in the Dark Palace. Yu-chiang[21] got It, and by It was set on the North Pole. Hsi Wang-mu[22] got It, and by It had her seat in the palace of Shao-kwang. No one knows Its beginning; no one knows Its end. Phang Tsu got It, and lived on from the time of the lord of Yu to that of the Five Chiefs. Fu Yueh got It, and by It became chief minister to Wu-ting, who thus in a trice became master of the kingdom. After his death, Fu Yueh mounted to the

[13] The Tao is independent both of space and time.

[14] A prehistoric sovereign.

[15] A name for the constellation of the Great Bear.

[16] Name of the spirit of the Khwan-lun mountains in Tibet, the fairy-land of Taoist writers, very much in Taoism what mount Sumeru is in Buddhism.

[17] The spirit presiding over the Yellow River.

[18] Appears here as the spirit of mount Thai, the great eastern mountain; we met with him in I, 5, but simply as one of Chuang-tze's fictitious personages.

[19] Appears before in Book II; the first of Sze-ma Chien's "Five Tis"; no doubt a very early sovereign, to whom many important discoveries and inventions are ascribed; is placed by many at the head of Taoism itself.

[20] The second of the "Five Tis"; a grandson of Hwang-Ti. I do not know what to say of his "Dark Palace."

[21] The Spirit of the Northern regions, with a man's face, and a bird's body, etc.

[22] A queen of the Genii on mount Khwan-lun.

eastern portion of the Milky Way, where, riding on Sagittarius and Scorpio, he took his place among the stars.

CHAPTER VIII

Nan-po Tze-khwei asked Nu Yu, saying, "You are old, Sir, while your complexion is like that of a child; how is it so?" The reply was, "I have become acquainted with the Tao." The other said, "Can I learn the Tao?" Nu Yu said, "No. How can you? You, Sir, are not the man to do so. There was Pu-liang I who had the abilities of a sagely man, but not the Tao, while I had the Tao, but not the abilities. I wished, however, to teach him, if, peradventure, he might become the sagely man indeed. If he should not do so, it was easy, I thought, for one possessing the Tao of the sagely man to communicate it to another possessing his abilities. Accordingly, I proceeded to do so, but with deliberation. After three days, he was able to banish from his mind all worldly matters. This accomplished, I continued my intercourse with him in the same way; and in seven days he was able to banish from his mind all thought of men and things. This accomplished, and my instructions continued, after nine days he was able to count his life as foreign to himself. This accomplished, his mind was afterward clear as the morning; and after this he was able to see his own individuality. That individuality perceived, he was able to banish all thought of Past or Present. Freed from this, he was able to penetrate to the truth that there is no difference between life and death — how the destruction of life is not dying, and the communication of other life is not living. The Tao is a thing which accompanies all other things and meets them, which is present when they are overthrown and when they obtain their completion. Its name is 'Tranquillity amid all Disturbances,' meaning that such Disturbances lead to Its Perfection."

"And how did you, being alone, without any teacher, learn all this?" "I learned it," was the reply, "from the

son of Fu-mo;[23] he learned it from the grandson of Lo-sung; he learned it from Shan-ming; he learned it from Nieh-hsu; he, from Hsu-yi; he, from Wu-ao; he, from Hsuan-ming; he, from Tshan-liao; and he learned it from I-shih."

CHAPTER IX

Tze-sze, Tze-yu, Tze-li, and Tze-lai, these four men, were talking together, when some one said, "Who can suppose the head to be made from nothing, the spine from life, and the rump-bone from death? Who knows how death and birth, living on and disappearing, compose the one body? — I would be friends with him." The four men looked at one another and laughed, but no one seized with his mind the drift of the questions. All, however, were friends together.

Not long after Tze-yu fell ill, and Tze-sze went to inquire for him. "How great," said the sufferer, "is the Creator![24] That He should have made me the deformed object that I am!" He was a crooked hunchback; his five viscera were squeezed into the upper part of his body; his chin bent over his navel; his shoulder was higher than his crown; on his crown was an ulcer pointing to the sky; his breath came and went in gasps: yet he was easy in his mind, and made no trouble of his condition. He limped to a well, looked at himself in it, and said, "Alas that the Creator should have made me the deformed object that I am!" Tze said, "Do you dislike your condition?" He replied, "No, why should I dislike it? If He were to transform my left arm into a cock, I should be watching with it the time of the night; if He were to transform my right arm into a cross-bow, I should then be looking for a *hsiao* to bring down and roast; if He were to transform my rump-bone into a wheel, and my spirit into a horse, I should then be mounting it, and would not change it for another steed. Moreover, when we have got what we are to do, there is the time of life in which to do it; when we lose that at death, submission is

[23] Meaning writings; literally, "the son of the assisting pigment."
[24] The Tao.

what is required. When we rest in what the time requires, and manifest that submission, neither joy nor sorrow can find entrance to the mind. This would be what the ancients called loosing the cord by which the life is suspended. But one hung up can not loose himself; he is held fast by his bonds. And that creatures can not overcome Heaven the inevitable is a long-acknowledged fact; why should I hate my condition?"

CHAPTER X

Before long Tze-lai fell ill, and lay gasping at the point of death, while his wife and children stood around him wailing. Tze-li went to ask for him, and said to them, "Hush! Get out of the way! Do not disturb him as he is passing through his change." Then, leaning against the door, he said to the dying man, "Great indeed is the Creator! What will He now make you to become? Where will He take you to? Will He make you the liver of a rat, or the arm of an insect?" [25] Tze-lai replied, "Wherever a parent tells a son to go, east, west, south, or north, he simply follows the command. The Yin and Yang are more to a man than his parents are. If they are hastening my death, and I do not quietly submit to them, I shall be obstinate and rebellious. There is the great Mass of nature — I find the support of my body in it; my life is spent in toil on it; my old age seeks ease on it; at death I find rest on it: what has made my life a good will make my death also a good.

"Here now is a great founder, casting his metal. If the metal were to leap up in the pot, and say, 'I must be made into a sword like the Mo-yeh,' [26] the great founder would be sure to regard it as uncanny. So, again, when a form is being fashioned in the mold of the womb, if it were to say, 'I must become a man; I must become a man,' the Creator would be sure to regard it as uncanny. When we once understand that heaven and earth are a great melting-pot, and the Creator a great founder, where can we have to go

[25] Here comes in the belief in transformation.

[26] The name of a famous sword, made for Ho-lu, the king of Wu (514–494 B.C.).

to that shall not be right for us? We are born as from a quiet sleep, and we die to a calm awaking."

CHAPTER XI

Tze-sang Hu, Mang Tze-fan, and Tze-chin Chang, these three men, were friends together. One of them said, "Who can associate together without any thought of such association, or act together without any evidence of such co-operation? Who can mount up into the sky and enjoy himself amidst the mists, disporting beyond the utmost limits of things, and forgetting all others as if this were living, and would have no end?" The three men looked at one another and laughed, not perceiving the drift of the questions; and they continued to associate together as friends.

Suddenly, after a time, Tze-sang Hu died. Before he was buried, Confucius heard of the event, and sent Tze-kung to go and see if he could render any assistance. One of the survivors had composed a ditty, and the other was playing on his lute. Then they sang together in unison,

> "Ah! come, Sang Hu! ah! come, Sang Hu!
> Your being true you've got again,
> While we, as men, still here remain.
> Ohone!" [27]

Tze-kung hastened forward to them, and said, "I venture to ask whether it be according to the rules to be singing thus in the presence of the corpse?" The two men looked at each other, and laughed, saying, "What does this man know about the idea that underlies our rules?" Tze-kung returned to Confucius, and reported to him, saying, "What sort of men are those? They had made none of the usual preparations, and treated the body as a thing foreign to them. They were singing in the presence of the corpse, and there was no change in their countenances. I can not describe them; what sort of men are they?" Confucius replied,

[27] In accordance with the ancient and modern practise in China of calling the dead back. But these were doing so in a song to the lute.

"Those men occupy and enjoy themselves in what is outside the common ways of the world, while I occupy and enjoy myself in what lies within those ways. There is no common ground for those of such different ways; and when I sent you to condole with those men, I was acting stupidly. They, moreover, make man to be the fellow of the Creator, and seek their enjoyment in the formless condition of heaven and earth. They consider life to be an appendage attached, an excrescence annexed to them, and death to be a separation of the appendage and a dispersion of the contents of the excrescence. With these views, how should they know wherein death and life are to be found, or what is first and what is last? They borrow different substances, and pretend that the common form of the body is composed of them.[28] They dismiss the thought of its inward constituents like the liver and gall, and its outward constituents, the ears and eyes. Again and again they end and they begin, having no knowledge of first principles. They occupy themselves ignorantly and vaguely with what they say lies outside the dust and dirt of the world, and seek their enjoyment in the business of doing nothing. How should they confusedly address themselves to the ceremonies practised by the common people, and exhibit themselves as doing so to the ears and eyes of the multitude?"

Tze-kung said, "Yes, but why do you, Master, act according to the common ways of the world?" The reply was, "I am in this under the condemning sentence of Heaven.[29] Nevertheless, I will share with you what I have attained to." Tze-kung rejoined, "I venture to ask the method which you pursue"; and Confucius said, "Fishes breed and grow in the water; man develops in the Tao. Growing in

[28] The idea that the body is composed of the elements of earth, wind or air, fire, and water.

[29] A strange description of himself by the sage. Literally, "I am one of the people killed and exposed to public view by Heaven"; referring, perhaps, to the description of a living man as "suspended by a string from God." Confucius was content to accept his life, and used it in pursuing the path of duty, according to his conception of it, without aiming at the transcendental method of the Taoists. I can attach no other or better meaning to the expression.

the water, the fishes cleave the pools, and their nourishment is supplied to them. Developing in the Tao, men do nothing, and the enjoyment of their life is secured. Hence it is said, 'Fishes forgot one another in the rivers and lakes; men forget one another in the arts of the Tao.'"

Tze-kung said, "I venture to ask about the man who stands aloof from others." The reply was, "He stands aloof from other men, but he is in accord with Heaven! Hence it is said, 'The small man of Heaven is the superior man among men; the superior man among men is the small man of Heaven!'"

CHAPTER XII

Yen Hui asked Chung-ni, saying, "When the mother of Mang-sun Tshai died, in all his wailing for her he did not shed a tear; in the core of his heart he felt no distress; during all the mourning-rites he exhibited no sorrow. Without these three things, he was considered to have discharged his mourning well; is it that in the State of Lu one who has not the reality may yet get the reputation of having it? I think the matter very strange." Chung-ni said, "That Mang-sun carried out his views to the utmost. He was advanced in knowledge; but in this case it was not possible for him to appear to be negligent in his ceremonial observances,[30] but he succeeded in being really so to himself. Mang-sun does not know either what purposes life serves, or what death serves; he does not know which should be first sought, and which last. If he is to be transformed into something else, he will simply await the transformation which he does not yet know. This is all he does. And moreover, when one is about to undergo his change, how does he know that it has not taken place? And when he is not about to undergo his change, how does he know that it has taken place? Take the case of me and you: are we in a dream from which we have not begun to awake?

"Moreover, Mang-sun presented in his body the appear-

[30] The people set such store by the mourning-rites, that Mang-sun felt he must present the appearance of observing them. This would seem to show that Taoism arose after the earlier views of the Chinese.

ance of being agitated, but in his mind he was conscious of no loss. The death was to him like the issuing from one's dwelling at dawn, and no more terrible reality. He was more awake than others were. When they wailed, he also wailed, having in himself the reason why he did so. And we all have our individuality which makes us what we are as compared together; but how do we know that we determine in any case correctly that individuality? Moreover, you dream that you are a bird, and seem to be soaring to the sky; or that you are a fish, and seem to be diving in the deep. But you do not know whether we that are now speaking are awake or in a dream. It is not the meeting with what is pleasurable that produces the smile; it is not the smile suddenly produced that produces the arrangement of the person. When one rests in what has been arranged, and puts away all thought of the transformation, he is in unity with the mysterious Heaven."

CHAPTER XIII

I-*r* Tze having gone to see Hsu Yu, the latter said to him, "What benefit have you received from Yao?" The reply was, "Yao says to me, You must yourself labor at benevolence and righteousness, and be able to tell clearly which is right and which wrong in conflicting statements." Hsu Yu rejoined, "Why then have you come to me? Since Yao has put on you the brand of his benevolence and righteousness, and cut off your nose with his right and wrong, how will you be able to wander in the way of aimless enjoyment, of unregulated contemplation, and the ever-changing forms of dispute?" I-*r* Tze said, "That may be; but I should like to skirt along its hedges." "But," said the other, "it can not be. Eyes without pupils can see nothing of the beauty of the eyebrows, eyes, and other features; the blind have nothing to do with the green, yellow, and variegated colors of the sacrificial robes." I-*r* Tze rejoined, "Yet, when Wu-chuang lost his beauty, Chu-liang his strength, and Hwang-Ti his wisdom, they all recovered them under the molding of your system; how do you know that the Maker

will not obliterate the marks of my branding, and supply my dismemberment, so that, again perfect in my form, I may follow you as my teacher?" Hsu Yu said, "Ah! that can not yet be known. I will tell you the rudiments. O my Master! O my Master! He gives to all things their blended qualities, and does not count it any righteousness; His favors reach to all generations, and He does not count it any benevolence; He is more ancient than the highest antiquity, and does not count Himself old; He overspreads heaven and supports the earth; He carves and fashions all bodily forms, and does not consider it any act of skill — this is He in whom I find my enjoyment."

CHAPTER XIV

Yen Hui said, "I am making progress." Chung-ni replied, "What do you mean?" "I have ceased to think of benevolence and righteousness," was the reply. "Very well; but that is not enough."

Another day, Hui again saw Chung-ni, and said, "I am making progress." "What do you mean?" "I have lost all thought of ceremonies and music." "Very well, but that is not enough."

A third day, Hui again saw the Master, and said, "I am making progress." "What do you mean?" "I sit and forget everything." Chung-ni changed countenance, and said, "What do you mean by saying that you sit and forget everything?" Yen Hui replied, "My connection with the body and its parts is dissolved; my perceptive organs are discarded. Thus leaving my material form, and bidding farewell to my knowledge, I am become one with the Great Pervader.[31] This I call sitting and forgetting all things." Chung-ni said, "One with that Pervader, you are free from all likings; so transformed, you are become impermanent. You have, indeed, become superior to me! I must ask leave to follow in your steps." [32]

[31] Another denomination, possibly, of the Tao.

[32] Here is another testimony, adduced by our author, of Confucius's appreciation of Taoism; to which the sage would, no doubt, have taken exception.

CHAPTER XV

Tze-yu [33] and Tze-sang [33] were friends. Once, when it had rained continuously for ten days, Tze-yu said, "I fear that Tze-sang may be in distress." So he wrapped up some rice, and went to give it to him to eat. When he came to Tze-sang's door, there issued from it sounds between singing and wailing; a lute was struck, and there came the words, "O Father! O Mother! O Heaven! O Men!" The voice could not sustain itself, and the line was hurriedly pronounced. Tze-yu entered and said, "Why are you singing, Sir, this line of poetry in such a way?" The other replied, "I was thinking, and thinking in vain, how it was that I was brought to such extremity. Would my parents have wished me to be so poor? Heaven overspreads all without any partial feeling, and so does Earth sustain all; would Heaven and Earth make me so poor with any unkindly feeling? I was trying to find out who had done it, and I could not do so. But here I am in this extremity! — it is what was appointed for me!" [34]

Book VII

YING TI WANG, OR "THE NORMAL COURSE FOR RULERS AND KINGS"

CHAPTER I

Nieh Chueh put four questions to Wang I, not one of which did he know how to answer. On this Nieh Chueh leaped up, and in great delight walked away and informed Phu-i-tze [1] of it, who said to him, "Do you only now know it?" He of the line of Yu was not equal to him of the line of Thai.[2] He of Yu still kept in himself the idea of

[33] Two of the men in chapters IX and X.

[34] Here is the highest issue of Taoism: unquestioning submission to what is beyond our knowledge and control.

[1] An ancient Taoist, of the time of Shun. So, Hwang-fu Mi, who adds that Shun served him as his master when he was eight years old. I suppose the name indicates that his clothes were made of rushes.

[2] An ancient sovereign, earlier, no doubt, than Fu-hsi; but nothing is known of him.

benevolence by which to constrain the submission of men; and he did win men, but he had not begun to proceed by what did not belong to him as a man. He of the line of Thai would sleep tranquilly, and awake in contented simplicity. He would consider himself now merely as a horse, and now merely as an ox.[3] His knowledge was real and untroubled by doubts; and his virtue was very true — he had not begun to proceed by what belonged to him as a man.

CHAPTER II

Chien Wu went to see the mad recluse, Chieh-yu, who said to him, "What did Tsah-chung Shih tell you?" The reply was, "He told me that when rulers gave forth their regulations according to their own views, and enacted righteous measures, no one would venture not to obey them, and all would be transformed." Chieh-yu said, "That is but the hypocrisy of virtue. For the right ordering of the world it would be like trying to wade through the sea and dig through the Ho, or employing a mosquito to carry a mountain on its back. And when a sage is governing, does he govern men's outward actions? He is himself correct, and so his government goes on; this is the simple and certain way by which he secures the success of his affairs. Think of the bird which flies high, to avoid being hurt by the dart on the string of the archer, and the little mouse which makes its hole deep under Shan-chiu to avoid the danger of being smoked or dug out; are rulers less knowing than these two little creatures?"

CHAPTER III

Thien Kan, rambling on the south of mount Yin, came to the neighborhood of the Liao-water. Happening there to meet with the man whose name is not known, he put a question to him, saying, "I beg to ask what should be done in order to carry on the government of the world." The

[3] He thought nothing about his being, as a man, superior to the lower creatures. Shun in governing employed his acquired knowledge; Thai had not begun to do so.

nameless man said, "Go away; you are a rude borderer. Why do you put to me a question for which you are unprepared? I would simply play the part of the Maker of all things. When wearied, I would mount on the bird of the light and empty air, proceed beyond the six cardinal points, and wander in the region of nonentity, to dwell in the wilderness of desert space. What method have you, moreover, for the government of the world that you thus agitate my mind?" Thien Kan, however, again asked the question, and the nameless man said, "Let your mind find its enjoyment in pure simplicity; blend yourself with the primary ether in idle indifference; allow all things to take their natural course; and admit no personal or selfish consideration: do this and the world will be governed."

CHAPTER IV

Yang Tze-chu,[4] having an interview with Lao Tan, said to him, "Here is a man, alert and vigorous in responding to all matters, clear-sighted and widely intelligent, and an unwearied student of the Tao; can he be compared to one of the intelligent kings?" The reply was, "Such a man is to one of the intelligent kings but as the bustling underling of a court who toils his body and distresses his mind with his various contrivances. And moreover, it is the beauty of the skins of the tiger and leopard which makes men hunt them; the agility of the monkey, or the sagacity of the dog that catches the yak, which make men lead them in strings; but can one similarly endowed be compared to the intelligent kings?"

Yang Tze-chu looked discomposed and said, "I venture to ask you what the government of the intelligent kings is." Lao Tan replied, "In the governing of the intelligent kings, their services overspread all under the sky, but they did not seem to consider it as proceeding from themselves; their transforming influence reached to all things, but the people did not refer it to them with hope. No one could tell the

[4] The Yang-Chu, whom Mencius attacked so fiercely. He was, perhaps, a contemporary and disciple of Lao-tze.

name of their agency, but they made men and things be joyful in themselves. Where they took their stand could not be fathomed, and they found their enjoyment in the realm of nonentity."

CHAPTER V

In Chang there was a mysterious wizard called Chi-hsien. He knew all about the deaths and births of men, their preservation and ruin, their misery and happiness, and whether their lives would be long or short, foretelling the year, the month, the decade, and the day like a spirit. When the people of Chang saw him, they all ran out of his way. Lieh-tze went to see him, and was fascinated by him. Returning, he told Hu-tze of his interview, and said, "I considered your doctrine, my master, to be perfect, but I have found another which is superior to it." Hu-tze replied, "I have communicated to you but the outward letter of my doctrine, and have not communicated its reality and spirit; and do you think that you are in possession of it? However many hens there be, if there be not the cock among them, how should they lay real eggs?[5] When you confront the world with your doctrine, you are sure to show in your countenance all that is in your mind, and so enable this man to succeed in interpreting your physiognomy. Try to come to me with him, that I may show myself to him."

On the morrow, accordingly, Lieh-tze came with the man and saw Hu-tze. When they went out, the wizard said, "Alas! your master is a dead man. He will not live — not for ten days more! I saw something strange about him — I saw the ashes of his life all slaked with water!" When Lieh-tze re-entered, he wept till the front of his jacket was wet with his tears, and told Hu-tze what the man had said. Hu-tze said, "I showed myself to him with the forms of vegetation beneath the earth. There were the sprouts indeed, but without any appearance of growth or regularity: he seemed to see me with the springs of my vital power closed up. Try to come to me with him again."

[5] "The hens" signify the letter of the doctrine; "the cock," its spirit; "the eggs," a real knowledge of it.

Next day, accordingly, Lieh-tze brought the man again and saw Hu-tze. When they went out, the man said, "It is a fortunate thing for your master that he met with me. He will get better; he has all the signs of living! I saw the balance of the springs of life that had been stopped inclining in his favor." Lieh-tze went in, and reported these words to his master, who said, "I showed myself to him after the pattern of the earth beneath the sky. Neither semblance nor reality entered into my exhibition, but the springs of life were issuing from beneath my feet; he seemed to see me with the springs of vigorous action in full play. Try to come with him again."

Next day Lieh-tze came with the man again, and again saw Hu-tze with him. When they went out, the wizard said, "Your master is never the same. I can not understand his physiognomy. Let him try to steady himself, and I will again view him." Lieh-tze went in and reported this to Hu-tze, who said, "This time I showed myself to him after the pattern of the grand harmony of the two elemental forces, with the superiority inclining to neither. He seemed to see me with the springs of vital power in equal balance. Where the water wheels about from the movements of a dugong, there is an abyss; where it does so from the arresting of its course, there is an abyss; where it does so, and the water keeps flowing on, there is an abyss. There are nine abysses with their several names, and I have only exhibited three of them. Try to come with him again."

Next day they came, and they again saw Hu-tze. But before he had settled himself in his position, the wizard lost himself and ran away. "Pursue him," said Hu-tze, and Lieh-tze did so, but could not come up with him. He returned, and told Hu-tze, saying, "There is an end of him; he is lost; I could not find him." Hu-tze rejoined, "I was showing him myself after the pattern of what was before I began to come from my author. I confronted him with pure vacancy, and an easy indifference. He did not know what I meant to represent. Now he thought it was the idea of

exhausted strength, and now that of an onward flow, and therefore he ran away."

After this, Lieh-tze considered that he had not yet begun to learn his master's doctrine. He returned to his house, and for three years did not go out. He did the cooking for his wife. He fed the pigs as if he were feeding men. He took no part or interest in occurring affairs. He put away the carving and sculpture about him, and returned to pure simplicity. Like a clod of earth he stood there in his bodily presence. Amid all distractions he was silent and shut up in himself. And in this way he continued to the end of his life.

CHAPTER VI

Non-action makes its exemplifier the lord of all fame; non-action serves him as the treasury of all plans; non-action fits him for the burden of all offices; non-action makes him the lord of all wisdom. The range of his action is inexhaustible, but there is nowhere any trace of his presence. He fulfils all that he has received from Heaven, but he does not see that he was the recipient of anything. A pure vacancy of all purpose is what characterizes him. When the perfect man employs his mind, it is a mirror. It conducts nothing and anticipates nothing; it responds to what is before it, but does not retain it. Thus he is able to deal successfully with all things, and injures none.

CHAPTER VII

The Ruler[6] of the Southern Ocean was Shu,[7] the Ruler of the Northern Ocean was Hu,[8] and the Ruler of the Center was Chaos. Shu and Hu were continually meeting in the land of Chaos, who treated them very well. They consulted together how they might repay his kindness, and said, "Men all have seven orifices for the purpose of seeing, hearing, eating, and breathing, while this poor Ruler alone has not one. Let us try to make them for him." Accordingly they

[6] Perhaps "god" would be a better translation.
[7] Meaning "Heedless."
[8] Meaning "Sudden."

dug one orifice in him every day; and at the end of seven days Chaos died.[9]

[9] The little allegory is ingenious and amusing. "It indicates," says Lin, "how action (the opposite of non-inaction) injures the first condition of things." More especially it is in harmony with the Taoistic opposition to the use of knowledge in government. One critic says that an "alas!" might well follow the concluding "died." But surely it was better that Chaos should give place to another state. "Heedless" and "Sudden" did not do a bad work.

END OF THE NEI

CHIU SHUI,

OR

FLOODS OF AUTUMN [1]

CHAPTER I

The time of the autumnal floods was come, and the hundred streams were all discharging themselves into the Ho. Its current was greatly swollen, so that across its channel from bank to bank one could not distinguish an ox from a horse. On this the Spirit-earl of the Ho [2] laughed with delight, thinking that all the beauty of the world was to be found in his charge. Along the course of the river he walked east till he came to the North Sea, over which he looked, with his face to the east, without being able to see where its waters began. Then he began to turn his face round, looked across the expanse, as if he were confronting Tso,[2] and said with a sigh, "What the vulgar saying expresses about him who has learned a hundred points of the Tao, and thinks that there is no one equal to himself, was surely spoken of me. And moreover, I have heard parties making little of the knowledge of Chung-ni and the righteousness of Po-i, and at first I did not believe them. Now I behold the all-but-boundless extent of your realms. If I had not come to your gate, I should have been in danger of continuing in my ignorance, and been laughed at for long in the schools of our great System." [3]

Tso, the Spirit-lord of the Northern Sea, said, "A frog

[1] The Floods of Autumn is usually accounted the most eloquent of the works of Chuang-tze. It is the seventeenth of his books, or the tenth of the "Outer" books supplementary to the Nei.

[2] Our author adopts the common beliefs or superstitions of his time, and after his fashion puts his own reasonings into the mouths of these mythological personages. It is more difficult to collect the legends about Tso of the sea, or of the Northern Sea.

[3] Thus the Confucian learning and its worthies were to the system of Tao only as the waters of the Ho to the great sea.

in a well can not be talked with about the sea — he is confined to the limits of his hole. An insect of the summer can not be talked with about ice — it knows nothing beyond its own season. A scholar of limited views can not be talked with about the Tao — he is bound by the teaching which he has received. Now you have come forth from between your banks, and beheld the great sea. You have come to know your own ignorance and inferiority, and are in the way of being fitted to be talked with about great principles. Of all the waters under heaven there are none so great as the sea. A myriad streams flow into it without ceasing, and yet it is not filled; and afterward it discharges them also without ceasing, and yet it is not emptied. In spring and in autumn it undergoes no change; it takes no notice of floods or of drought. Its superiority over such streams even as the Chiang and the Ho can not be told by measures or numbers; and that I have never, notwithstanding this, made much of myself, is because I compare my own bodily form with the greatness of heaven and earth, and remember that I have received my breath from the Yin and Yang. Between heaven and earth I am but as a small stone or a small tree on a great hill. So long as I see myself to me thus small, how should I make much of myself? I estimate all within the four seas, compared with the space between heaven and earth, to be not so large as that occupied by a pile of stones in a large marsh! I estimate our Middle States, compared with the space between the four seas, to be smaller than a single little grain of rice in a great granary! When we would set forth the number of things in existence, we speak of them as myriads; and man is only one of them. Men occupy all the nine provinces; but of all whose life is maintained by grain-food, wherever boats and carriages reach, men form only one portion. Thus, compared with the myriads of things, they are not equal to a single fine hair on the body of a horse. Within this range are comprehended all the territories which the five Tis received in succession from one another; all which the royal founders of the three dynasties contended for; all which excited the

anxiety of Benevolent men; and all which men in office have toiled for. Po-i was accounted famous for declining to share in its government, and Chung-ni was accounted great because of the lessons which he addressed to it. They acted as they did, making much of themselves — therein like you who a little time ago did so of yourself because of your volume of water!"

CHAPTER II

The earl of the Ho said, "Well then, may I consider heaven and earth as the ideal of what is great, and the point of a hair as that of what is small?" Tso of the Northern Sea replied, "No. The different capacities of things are illimitable; time never stops, but is always moving on; man's lot is ever changing; the end and the beginning of things never occur twice in the same way. Therefore men of great wisdom, looking at things far off or near at hand, do not think them insignificant for being small, nor much of them for being great — knowing how capacities differ illimitably. They appeal with intelligence to things of ancient and recent occurrence, without being troubled by the remoteness of the former, or standing on tiptoe to lay hold of the latter — knowing that time never stops in its course. They examine with discrimination cases of fulness and of want, not overjoyed by success, nor disheartened by failure — knowing the inconstancy of man's lot. They know the plain and quiet path in which things proceed, therefore they are not overjoyed to live, nor count it a calamity to die — the end and the beginning of things never occurring twice in the same way.

"We must reckon that what men know is not so much as what they do not know, and that the time since they were born is not so long as that which elapsed before they were born. When they take that which is most small and try to fill with it the dimensions of what is most great, this leads to error and confusion, and they can not attain their end. Looking at the subject in this way, how can you know that the point of a hair is sufficient to determine the minuteness

of what is most small, or that heaven and earth are sufficient to complete the dimensions of what is most large?"

CHAPTER III

The earl of the Ho said, "The disputers of the world all say, 'That which is most minute has no bodily form; and that which is most great can not be encompassed'; is this really the truth?" Tso of the Northern Sea replied, "When from the standpoint of what is small we look at what is great, we do not take it all in; when from the standpoint of what is great we look at what is small, we do not see it clearly. Now the subtile essence is smallness in its extreme degree; and the vast mass is greatness in its largest form. Different as they are, each has its suitability — according to their several conditions. But the subtile and the gross both presuppose that they have a bodily form. Where there is no bodily form, there is no longer a possibility of numerical division; where it is not possible to encompass a mass, there is no longer a possibility of numerical estimate. What can be discoursed about in words is the grossness of things; what can be reached in idea is the subtilty of things. What can not be discoursed about in words, and what can not be reached by nice discrimination of thought, has nothing to do either with subtilty or grossness.

"Therefore while the actions of the Great Man are not directed to injure men, he does not plume himself on his benevolence and kindness; while his movements are not made with a view to gain, he does not consider the menials of a family as mean; while he does not strive after property and wealth, he does not plume himself on declining them; while he does not borrow the help of others to accomplish his affairs, he does not plume himself on supporting himself by his own strength, nor does he despise those who in their greed do what is mean; while he differs in his conduct from the vulgar, he does not plume himself on being so different from them; while it is his desire to follow the multitude, he does not despise the glib-tongued flatterers. The rank and emoluments of the world furnish no stimulus to him, nor

does he reckon its punishments and shame to be a disgrace. He knows that the right and the wrong can often not be distinguished, and that what is small and what is great can often not be defined. I have heard it said, 'The Man of Tao does not become distinguished; the greatest virtue is unsuccessful; the Great Man has no thought of self'; to so great a degree may the lot be restricted."

CHAPTER IV

The earl of the Ho said, "Whether the subject be what is external in things, or what is internal, how do we come to make a distinction between them as noble and mean, and as great or small?" Tso of the Northern Sea replied, "When we look at them in the light of the Tao, they are neither noble nor mean. Looking at them in themselves, each thinks itself noble, and despises others. Looking at them in the light of common opinion, their being noble or mean does not depend on themselves. Looking at them in their differences from one another, if we call those great which are greater than others, there is nothing that is not great, and in the same way there is nothing that is not small. We shall thus know that heaven and earth are but as a grain of the smallest rice, and that the point of a hair is as a mound or a mountain; such is the view given of them by their relative size. Looking at them from the services they render, allowing to everything the service which it does, there is not one which is not serviceable; and, extending the consideration to what it does not do, there is not one which is not unserviceable. We know, for instance, that East and West are opposed to each other, and yet that the one can not be without suggesting the idea of the other; thus their share of mutual service is determined. Looking at them with respect to their tendencies, if we approve of what they approve, then there is no one who may not be approved of; and, if we condemn what they condemn, there is no one who may not be condemned. There are the cases of Yao and Chieh, each of whom approved of his own course, and condemned the other; such is the view arising from the consideration of tendency and aim.

"Formerly Yao and Shun resigned their thrones, and yet each continued to be Ti; Chih-khwai resigned his marquisate, which led to his ruin. Thang and Wu contended for the sovereignty, and each became king; the Duke of Pai contended for Chu, which led to his extinction. Looking at the subject from these examples of striving by force and of resigning, and from the conduct of Yao, on the one hand, and of Chieh on the other, we see that there is a time for noble acting, and a time for mean; these characteristics are subject to no regular rule.

CHAPTER V

"A battering-ram may be used against the wall of a city, but it can not be employed to stop up a hole — the uses of implements are different. The horses Chih-chi and Hwa-liu[4] could in one day gallop 1000 li, but for catching rats they were not equal to a wild dog or a weasel — the gifts of creatures are different. The white horned owl collects its fleas in the night-time, and can discern the point of a hair, but in bright day it stares with its eyes and can not see a mound or a hill — the natures of creatures are different.

"Hence the sayings, 'Shall we not follow and honor the right, and have nothing to do with the wrong? shall we not follow and honor those who secure good government, and have nothing to do with those who produce disorder?' show a want of acquaintance with the principles of Heaven and Earth, and with the different qualities of things. It is like following and honoring Heaven and taking no account of Earth; it is like following and honoring the Yin and taking no account of the Yang. It is clear that such a course can not be pursued. Yet notwithstanding they go on talking so: if they are not stupid, they are visionaries. The Ti sovereigns resigned their thrones to others in one way, and the rulers of the three dynasties transmitted their thrones to their successors in another. He who acts differently from the requirements of his time and contrary to its custom is called an usurper; he who complies with the time and follows the

[4] Two of King Mu's team of eight famous steeds.

common practise is said to be righteous. Hold your peace, O earl of the Ho. How should you know what constitutes being noble and being mean, or who are the small and who the great?"

CHAPTER VI

The earl of the Ho said, "Very well. But what am I to do? and what am I not to do? How am I to be guided after all in regard to what I accept or reject, and what I pursue or put away from me?" Tso of the Northern Sea replied, "From the standpoint of the Tao, what is noble? and what is mean? These expressions are but the different extremes of the average level. Do not keep pertinaciously to your own ideas, which put you in such opposition to the Tao. What are few? and what are many? These are denominations which we employ in thanking donors and dispensing gifts. Do not study to be uniform in doing so — it only shows how different you are from the Tao. Be severe and strict, like the ruler of a State who does not selfishly bestow his favors. Be scrupulous, yet gentle, like the tutelary spirit of the land, when sacrifice is offered to him who does not bestow his blessing selfishly. Be large-minded like space, whose four terminating points are illimitable, and form no particular enclosures. Hold all things in your love, favoring and supporting none specially. This is called being without any local or partial regard; all things are equally regarded; there is no long or short among them.

"There is no end or beginning to the Tao. Things indeed die and are born, not reaching a perfect state which can be relied on. Now there is emptiness, and now fulness — they do not continue in one form. The years can not be reproduced; time can not be arrested. Decay and growth, fulness and emptiness, when they end, begin again. It is thus that we describe the method of great righteousness, and discourse about the principle pervading all things. The life of things is like the hurrying and galloping along of a horse. With every movement there is a change; with every move-

ment there is an alteration. What should you be doing? what should you not be doing? You have only to be allowing this course of natural transformation to be going on."

CHAPTER VII

The earl of the Ho said, "What then is there so valuable in the Tao?" Tso of the Northern Sea replied, "He who knows the Tao is sure to be well acquainted with the principles that appear in the procedures of things. Acquainted with those principles, he is sure to understand how to regulate his conduct in all varying circumstances. Having that understanding, he will not allow things to injure himself. Fire can not burn him who is so perfect in virtue, nor water drown him; neither cold nor heat can affect him injuriously; neither bird nor beast can hurt him. This does not mean that he is indifferent to these things; it means that he discriminates between where he may safely rest and where he will be in peril; that he is tranquil equally in calamity and happiness; that he is careful what he avoids and what he approaches — so that nothing can injure him. Hence it is said, 'What is heavenly is internal; what is human is external.' The virtue of man is in what is Heavenly. If you know the operation of what is Heavenly and what is Human, you will have your root in what is Heavenly and your position in Virtue. You will bend or stretch only after the necessary hesitation; you will have returned to the essential, and may be pronounced to have reached perfection."

"What do you mean?" pursued the earl, "by the Heavenly, and by the Human?" Tso replied, "Oxen and horses have four feet; that is what I call their Heavenly constitution. When horses' heads are haltered, and the noses of oxen are pierced, that is what I call the doing of Man. Hence it is said, 'Do not by the Human doing extinguish the Heavenly constitution; do not for your Human purpose extinguish the appointment of Heaven; do not bury your proper fame in such a pursuit of it; carefully guard the Way and do not lose it: this is what I call reverting to your True Nature.'"

CHAPTER VIII

The *khwei*[5] desires to be like the milliped;[5] the milliped to be like the serpent; the serpent like the wind; the wind to be like the eye; and the eye to be like the mind.

The *khwei* said to the milliped, "With my one leg I hop about, and can hardly manage to go along. Now you have a myriad feet which you can employ; how is it that you are so abundantly furnished?" The milliped said, "It is not so. Have you not seen one ejecting saliva? The largest portion of it is like a pearl, while the smaller portions fall down like a shower of mist in innumerable drops. Now I put in motion the springs set in me by Heaven, without knowing how I do so."

The milliped said to the serpent, "I go along by means of my multitude of feet; and yet how is it that I do not go so fast as you who have no feet at all?" The serpent replied, "How can the method of moving by the springs set in us by Heaven be changed? How could I make use of feet?"

The serpent said to the wind, "I get along by moving my backbone and ribs, thus appearing to have some bodily means of progression. But now you, Sir, rise with a blustering force in the North Sea, and go on in the same way to the South Sea; — seemingly without any such means. How does it take place?" The wind said, "Yes. With such a blustering force I rise in the North Sea and go on to the South Sea. But you can point to me, and therein are superior to me, as you are also in treading on me. Yet notwithstanding, it is only I who can break great trees, and blow down great houses. Therefore he whom all that are small can not overcome is a great overcomer. But it is only he who is the sagely man[6] that is the Great Conqueror of all."

[5] The *khwei* is "a sort of dragon (it may be, a worm) with one foot." The *hsien* has many feet; one account calls it "a centiped."

[6] The sagely man is "the True man," who embodies the Tao. The Tao has given to the *khwei*, the milliped, the serpent, and it may be said also to the wind, their means of progression and action. Nothing is said of the eye and the mind — it was not necessary to dwell on the Tao in them.

CHAPTER IX

When Confucius was traveling in Khwang,[7] some people of Sung once surrounded him with a hostile intention several ranks deep; but he kept singing to his lute without stopping. Tsze-lu came in, and saw him, and said, "How is it, Master, that you are so pleased?" Confucius said, "Come here, and I will tell you. I have tried to avoid being reduced to such a strait for a long time; and that I have not escaped shows that it was so appointed for me. I have sought to find a ruler that would employ me for a long time, and that I have not found one, shows the character of the time. Under Yao and Shun there was no one in the kingdom reduced to straits like mine; and it was not by their sagacity that men succeeded as they did. Under Chieh and Chau no good and able man in the kingdom found his way to employment; and it was not for want of sagacity that they failed to do so. It was simply owing to the times and their character.

"People that do business on the water do not shrink from meeting iguanodons and dragons — that is the courage of fishermen. Those who do business on land do not shrink from meeting rhinoceroses and tigers — that is the courage of hunters. When men see the sharp weapons crossed before them, and look on death as going home — that is the courage of the determined soldier. When he knows that his strait is determined for him, and that the employment of him by a ruler depends on the character of the time, and then meeting with great distress is yet not afraid — that is the courage of the sagely man. Wait, my good Yu, and you will see what there is determined for me in my lot." A little afterward, the leader of the armed men approached and took his leave, saying, "We thought you were Yang Hu,[8] and therefore surrounded you. Now we see our mistake." With this he begged to take his leave, and withdrew.

[7] See Confucian "Analects," IX and XI. Our author's account of this event is his own, constructed by him to convey his own Taoistic lessons.

[8] No doubt the Yang Ho of "Analects" XVII.

CHAPTER X

Kung-sun Lung[9] asked Mau of Wei,[10] saying, "When I was young, I learned the teachings of the former kings; and when I was grown up, I became proficient in the practise of benevolence and righteousness. I brought together the views that agreed and disagreed; I considered the questions about hardness and whiteness;[11] I set forth what was to be affirmed and what was not, and what was allowable and what was not; I studied painfully the various schools of thought, and made myself master of the reasonings of all their masters. I thought that I had reached a good understanding of every subject; but now that I have heard the words of Chuang-tze, they throw me into a flutter of surprise. I do not know whether it be that I do not come up to him in the power of discussion, or that my knowledge is not equal to his. But now I do not feel able to open my mouth, and venture to ask you what course I should pursue." Kung-tze Mau leaned forward on his stool, drew a long breath, looked up to heaven, smiled, and said, "Have you not heard of the frog of the dilapidated well, and how it said to the turtle of the Eastern Sea, 'How I enjoy myself? I leap upon the parapet of this well. I enter, and having by means of the projections formed by the fragments of the broken tiles of the lining proceeded to the water, I draw my legs together, keep my chin up, and strike out. When I have got to the mud, I dive till my feet are lost in it. Then turning round, I see that of the shrimps, crabs, and tadpoles there is not one that can do like me. Moreover, when one has entire command of all the water in the gully, and hesitates to go forward, it is the greatest pleasure to enjoy one's self here in this dilapi-

[9] The grandson (Kung-sun) of one of the rulers of Chao (one of the three States into which the great State of Tsin had been broken up). He has come down to us as a philosophic sophist, whose views it is not easy to define.

[10] Wei was another of the divisions of Tsin, and Mau was one of the sons of its ruler at this time, a great admirer, evidently, of Chuang-tze, and more than a match for the sophist Lung.

[11] Holding, it is supposed, that "the attributes of material objects, such as hardness and color, are separate existences."

dated well; why do not you, Master, often come and enter, and see it for yourself?' The turtle of the Eastern Sea was then proceeding to go forward, but before he had put in his left foot, he found his right knee caught and held fast. On this he hesitated, drew back, and told the frog all about the sea, saying, 'A distance of a thousand li is not sufficient to express its extent, nor would a line of eight thousand cubits be equal to sound its depth. In the time of Yu, for nine years out of ten the flooded land all drained into it, and its water was not sensibly increased; and in the time of Thang for seven years out of eight there was a drought, but the rocks on the shore saw no diminution of the water because of it. Thus it is that no change is produced in its waters by any cause operating for a short time or a long, and that they do not advance nor recede for any addition or subtraction, whether great or small; and this is the great pleasure afforded by the Eastern Sea.' When the frog of the dilapidated well heard this, he was amazed and terror-struck, and lost himself in surprise.

"And moreover, when you, who have not wisdom enough to know where the discussions about what is right and what is wrong should end, still desire to see through the words of Chuang-tze, that is like employing a mosquito to carry a mountain on its back, or a milliped [12] to gallop as fast as the Ho runs; — tasks to which both the insects are sure to be unequal. Still further, when you, who have not wisdom enough to know the words employed in discussing very mysterious subjects, yet hasten to show your sharpness of speech on any occasion that may occur, is not this being like the frog of the dilapidated well?

"And that Chuang-tze now plants his foot on the Yellow Springs below the earth, and anon rises to the height of the Empyrean. Without any regard to south and north, with freedom he launches out in every direction, and is lost in the unfathomable. Without any regard to east and west, start-

[12] A different character from that for a milliped in the last paragraph — a *Shang Chu*, evidently some small insect, but we can not tell what.

ing from what is abysmally obscure, he comes back to what is grandly intelligible. All the while, you, Sir, in amazement, search for his views to examine them, and grope among them for matter for discussion; — this is just like peeping at the heavens through a tube, or aiming at the earth with an awl; are not both the implements too small for the purpose? Go your ways, Sir.

"And have you not heard of the young learners of Shauling, and how they did in Han-tan? Before they had acquired what they might have done in that capital, they had forgotten what they had learned to do in their old city, and were marched back to it on their hands and knees. If now you do not go away, you will forget your old acquirements, and fail in your profession."

Kung-sun Lung gaped on the speaker, and could not shut his mouth, and his tongue clave to its roof. He slank away and ran off.

CHAPTER XI

Chuang-tze was once fishing in the river Phu, when the King of Chu sent two great officers to him, with the message, "I wish to trouble you with the charge of all within my territories." Chuang-tze kept on holding his rod without looking round, and said, "I have heard that in Chu there is a spirit-like tortoise-shell, the wearer of which died 3000 years ago, and which the king keeps, in his ancestral temple, in a hamper covered with a cloth. Was it better for the tortoise to die, and leave its shell to be thus honored? Or would it have been better for it to live, and keep on dragging its tail through the mud?" The two officers said, "It would have been better for it to live, and draw its tail after it over the mud." "Go your ways. I will keep on drawing my tail after me through the mud."

CHAPTER XII

Hui-tze being a minister of State in Liang,[13] Chuang-tze went to see him. Some one had told Hui-tze that Chuang-tze

[13] Another name for Wei, so called from its capital; in the present department of Khai-fang.

was come with a wish to supersede him in his office, on which he was afraid, and instituted a search for the stranger all over the kingdom for three days and three nights. After this Chuang-tze went and saw him, and said, "There is in the south a bird, called 'the Young Phoenix';[14] do you know it? Starting from the South Sea, it flies to the Northern; never resting but on the *bignonia,* never eating but the fruit of the *melia azederach,* and never drinking but from the purest springs. An owl, which had got a putrid rat, once, when a phoenix went passing overhead, looked up to it and gave an angry scream. Do you wish now, in your possession of the kingdom of Liang, to frighten me with a similar scream?"

Chuang-tze and Hui-tze were walking on the dam over the Hao, when the former said, "These *thryssas* come out, and play about at their ease — that is the enjoyment of fishes." The other said, "You are not a fish; how do you know what constitutes the enjoyment of fishes?" Chuang-tze rejoined, "You are not I. How do you know that I do not know what constitutes the enjoyment of fishes?" Hui-tze said, "I am not you; and though indeed I do not fully know you, you certainly are not a fish, and the argument is complete against your knowing what constitutes the happiness of fishes." Chuang-tze replied, "Let us keep to your original question. You said to me, 'How do you know what constitutes the enjoyment of fishes?' You knew that I knew it, and yet you put your question to me; well, I know it from our enjoying ourselves together over the Hao."

[14] So the critics explain the name. Williams thinks the bird may be "the argus pheasant," or "a variety of the peacock."

CHIH PEI YU

OR

KNOWLEDGE RAMBLING IN THE NORTH [1]

CHAPTER I

Knowledge [2] had rambled northward to the region of the Dark Water, where he ascended the height of Imperceptible Slope, when it happened that he met with Dumb Inaction. Knowledge addressed him, saying, "I wish to ask you some questions: By what process of thought and anxious consideration do we get to know the Tao? Where should we dwell and what should we do to find our rest in the Tao? From what point should we start and what path should we pursue to make the Tao our own?" He asked these three questions, but Dumb Inaction [2] gave him no reply. Not only did he not answer, but he did not know how to answer.

Knowledge,[2] disappointed by the fruitlessness of his questions, returned to the south of the Bright Water, and ascended the height of the End of Doubt, where he saw Heedless Blurter, to whom he put the same questions, and who replied, "Ah! I know, and will tell you." But while he was about to speak, he forgot what he wanted to say.

Knowledge, again receiving no answer to his questions, returned to the palace of the Ti, where he saw Hwang-Ti, and put the questions to him. Hwang-Ti said, "To exercise no thought and no anxious consideration is the first step toward knowing the Tao; to dwell nowhere and do nothing

[1] The Chih, or "Knowledge," is the twenty-second book of Chuang and the last of the "Outer" books. His remaining books are classed as miscellany. This is one of the most typical books of Chuang in its figurative style; yet in it he speaks most plainly of his own views of the Tao.

[2] All these names are metaphorical, having more or less to do with the qualities of the Tao, and are used as the names of personages, devoted to the pursuit of it.

is the first step toward resting in the Tao; to start from nowhere and pursue no path is the first step toward making the Tao your own."

Knowledge then asked Hwang-Ti, saying, "I and you know this; those two did not know it; which of us is right?" The reply was, "Dumb Inaction is truly right; Heedless Blurter has an appearance of being so; I and you are not near being so. As it is said, 'Those who know the Tao do not speak of it; those who speak of it do not know it';[3] and 'Hence the sage conveys his instructions without the use of speech.[3] The Tao can not be made ours by constraint; its characteristics will not come to us at our call. Benevolence may be practised; Righteousness may be partially attended to; by Ceremonies men impose on one another. Hence it is said, 'When the Tao was lost, its Characteristics appeared. When its Characteristics were lost, Benevolence appeared. When Benevolence was lost, Righteousness appeared. When Righteousness was lost, Ceremonies appeared. Ceremonies are but the unsubstantial flowers of the Tao, and the commencement of disorder.[4] Hence also it is further said, 'He who practises the Tao daily diminishes his doing. He diminishes it and again diminishes it, till he arrives at doing nothing. Having arrived at this non-inaction, there is nothing that he does not do.'[4] Here now there is something, a regularly fashioned utensil; if you wanted to make it return to the original condition of its materials, would it not be difficult to make it do so? Could any but the Great Man accomplish this easily?[5]

"Life is the follower of death, and death is the predecessor of life; but who knows the Arranger of this connection between them?[6] The life is due to the collecting of the breath. When that is collected, there is life; when it is dispersed, there is death. Since death and life thus attend on

[3] See the "Tao-Teh King," chapters LVI and II. Chuang-tze is quoting, no doubt, these two passages, as he vaguely intimates.

[4] See the "Tao-Teh King," chapters XXXVIII and XLVIII.

[5] This sentence is metaphorical of the Tao, whose spell is broken by the intrusion of Knowledge.

[6] This "Arranger" is the Tao.

each other, why should I account either of them an evil?

"Therefore all things go through one and the same experience. Life is accounted beautiful because it is spirit-like and wonderful, and death is accounted ugly because of its foetor and putridity. But the foetid and putrid is transformed again into the spirit-like and wonderful, and the spirit-like and wonderful is transformed again into the foetid and putrid. Hence it is said, 'All under the sky there is one breath of life, and therefore the sages prized that unity.'"

Knowledge said to Hwang-Ti, "I asked Dumb Inaction, and he did not answer me. Not only did he not answer me, but he did not know how to answer me. I asked Heedless Blurter, and while he wanted to tell me, he yet did not do so. Not only did he not tell me, but while he wanted to tell me, he forgot all about my questions. Now I have asked you, and you knew all about them; why do you say that you are not near doing so?" Hwang-Ti replied, "Dumb Inaction was truly right, because he did not know the thing. Heedless Blurter was nearly right, because he forgot it. I and you are not nearly right, because we know it." Heedless Blurter heard of all this, and considered that Hwang-Ti knew how to express himself on the subject.

CHAPTER II

The operations of Heaven and Earth proceed in the most admirable way, but they say nothing about them; the four seasons observe the clearest laws, but they do not discuss them; all things have their complete and distinctive constitutions, but they say nothing about them.

The sages trace out the admirable operations of Heaven and Earth, and reach to and understand the distinctive constitutions of all things; and thus it is that the Perfect Man is said to do nothing and the Greatest Sage to originate nothing, such language showing that they look to Heaven and Earth as their model.[7] Even they, with their spirit-like and most exquisite intelligence, as well as all the tribes that undergo their transformations, the dead and the living, the

[7] Compare the "Tao-Teh King," chapter xxv.

square and the round, do not understand their root and origin, but nevertheless they all from the oldest time by it preserve their being.

Vast as is the space included within the six cardinal points, it all, and all that it contains, lies within this twofold root of Heaven and Earth; small as is an autumn hair, it is indebted to this for the completion of its form. All things beneath the sky, now rising, now descending, ever continue the same through this. The Yin and Yang, and the four seasons revolve and move by it, each in its proper order. Now it seems to be lost in obscurity, but it continues; now it seems to glide away, and have no form, but it is still spirit-like. All things are nourished by it, without their knowing it. This is what is called the Root and Origin; by it we may obtain a view of what we mean by Heaven.[8]

CHAPTER III

Nieh Chueh asked about the Tao from Phei-i, who replied, "If you keep your body as it should be, and look only at the one thing, the Harmony of Heaven will come to you. Call in your knowledge, and make your measures uniform, and the spiritual belonging to you will come and lodge with you; the Attributes of the Tao will be your beauty, and the Tao itself will be your dwelling-place. You will have the simple look of a new-born calf, and will not seek to know the cause of your being what you are." Phei-i had not finished these words when the other dozed off into a sleep.

Phei-i was greatly pleased, and walked away, singing as he went,

"Like stump of rotten tree his frame,
Like lime when slaked his mind became.[9]
Real is his wisdom, solid, true,
Nor cares what's hidden to pursue.
Oh dim and dark his aimless mind!
No one from him can counsel find.
What sort of man is he?"

[8] The binomial "Heaven and Earth" here gives place to the one term "Heaven," which is often a synonym of Tao.

[9] See the account of Nan-kwo Tze-chi in Book II, chapter I.

CHAPTER IV

Shun asked his attendant Chang,[10] saying, "Can I get the Tao and hold it as mine?" The reply was, "Your body is not your own to hold — how then can you get and hold the Tao?" Shun resumed, "If my body be not mine to possess and hold, who holds it?" Chang said, "It is the bodily form entrusted to you by Heaven and Earth. Life is not yours to hold. It is the blended harmony of the Yin and Yang, entrusted to you by Heaven and Earth. Your nature, constituted as it is, is not yours to hold. It is entrusted to you by Heaven and Earth to act in accordance with it. Your grandsons and sons are not yours to hold. They are the exuviae[11] entrusted to you by Heaven and Earth. Therefore when we walk, we should not know where we are going; when we stop and rest, we should not know what to occupy ourselves with; when we eat, we should not know the taste of our food — all is done by the strong Yang influence of Heaven and Earth. How then can you get the Tao, and hold it as your own?"

CHAPTER V

Confucius asked Lao Tan, saying, "Being at leisure today, I venture to ask you about the Perfect Tao." Lao Tan replied, "You must, as by fasting and vigil, clear and purge your mind, wash your spirit white as snow, and sternly repress your knowledge. The subject of the Tao is deep, and difficult to describe — I will give you an outline of its simplest attributes.

"The Luminous was produced from the Obscure; the Multiform from the Unembodied; the Spiritual from the Tao; and the bodily from the seminal essence. After this all things produced one another from their bodily organizations. Thus it is that those which have nine apertures are born from the womb, and those with eight from eggs. But

[10] Not the name of a man, but an office.

[11] The term in the text denotes the cast-off skin or shell of insects, snakes, and crabs. See the account of death and life in chapter I.

their coming leaves no trace, and their going no monument; they enter by no door; they dwell in no apartment [12]— they are in a vast arena reaching in all directions. They who search for and find the Tao in this are strong in their limbs, sincere and far-reaching in their thinking, acute in their hearing, and clear in their seeing. They exercise their minds without being toiled; they respond to everything aright without regard to place or circumstance. Without this heaven would not be high, nor earth broad; the sun and moon would not move, and nothing would flourish: such is the operation of the Tao.

"Moreover, the most extensive knowledge does not necessarily know it; reasoning will not make men wise in it; the sages have decided against both these methods. However you try to add to it, it admits of no increase; however you try to take from it, it admits of no diminution; this is what the sages maintain about it. How deep it is, like the sea! How grand it is, beginning again when it has come to an end! If it carried along and sustained all things, without being overburdened or weary, that would be like the way of the superior man, merely an external operation; when all things go to it, and find their dependence in it; this is the true character of the Tao.

"Here is a man born in one of the middle states.[13] He feels himself independent both of the Yin and Yang, and dwells between heaven and earth; only for the present a mere man, but he will return to his original source. Looking at him in his origin, when his life begins, we have but a gelatinous substance in which the breath is collecting. Whether his life be long or his death early, how short is the space between them! It is but the name for a moment of time, insufficient to play the part of a good Yao or a bad Chieh in.

"The fruits of trees and creeping plants have their distinctive characters, and though the relationships of men, according to which they are classified, are troublesome, the

12 Hu Wan-ying says, "With this one word our author sweeps away the teaching of Purgatorial Sufferings."

13 The commentators suppose that by "the man" here there is intended "a sage"; and they would seem to be correct.

sage, when he meets with them, does not set himself in opposition to them, and when he has passed through them, he does not seek to retain them; he responds to them in their regular harmony according to his virtue; and even when he accidentally comes across any of them, he does so according to the Tao. It was thus that the Tis flourished, thus that the kings arose.

"Men's life between heaven and earth is like a white colt's passing a crevice, and suddenly disappearing. As with a plunge and an effort they all come forth; easily and quietly they all enter again. By a transformation they live, and by another transformation they die. Living things are made sad by death, and mankind grieve for it; but it is only the removal of the bow from its sheath, and the emptying the natural satchel of its contents. There may be some confusion amidst the yielding to the change; but the intellectual and animal souls are taking their leave, and the body will follow them: This is the Great Returning home.

"That the bodily frame came from incorporeity, and will return to the same, is what all men in common know, and what those who are on their way to know it need not strive for. This is what the multitudes of men discuss together. Those whose knowledge is complete do not discuss it; such discussion shows that their knowledge is not complete. Even the most clear-sighted do not meet with the Tao; it is better to be silent than to reason about it. The Tao can not be heard with the ears; it is better to shut the ears than to try to hear it. This is what is called the Great Attainment."

CHAPTER VI

Tung-kwo Tze asked Chuang-tze, saying, "Where is what you call the Tao to be found?" Chuang-tze replied, "Everywhere." The other said, "Specify an instance of it. That will be more satisfactory." "It is here in this ant." "Give a lower instance." "It is in this panic grass." "Give me a still lower instance." "It is in this earthenware tile." "Surely that is the lowest instance?" "It is

in that excrement." [14] To this Tung-kwo Tze gave no reply. Chuang-tze said, "Your questions, my master, do not touch the fundamental point of the Tao. They remind me of the questions addressed by the superintendents of the market to the inspector about examining the value of a pig by treading on it, and testing its weight as the foot descends lower and lower on the body.[15] You should not specify any particular thing. There is not a single thing without the Tao. So it is with the Perfect Tao. And if we call it the Great Tao, it is just the same. There are the three terms—'Complete,' 'All-embracing,' 'the Whole.' These names are different, but the reality sought in them is the same; referring to the One thing.

"Suppose we were to try to roam about in the palace of Nowhere; when met there, we might discuss about the subject without ever coming to an end. Or suppose we were to be together in the region of Non-action; should we say that the Tao was Simplicity and Stillness? or Indifference and Purity? or Harmony and Ease? My will would be aimless. If it went nowhere, I should not know where it had got to; if it went and came again, I should not know where it had stopped; if it went on going and coming, I should not know when the process would end. In vague uncertainty should I be in the vastest waste. Though I entered it with the greatest knowledge, I should not know how inexhaustible it was. That which makes things what they are has not the limit which belongs to things, and when we speak of things being limited, we mean that they are so in themselves. The Tao is the limit of the unlimited, and the boundlessness of the unbounded.

"We speak of fulness and emptiness; of withering and decay. It produces fulness and emptiness, but is neither fulness nor emptiness; it produces withering and decay, but

[14] A contemptuous reply, provoked by Tung-kwo's repeated interrogation as to where the Tao was to be found, the only question being as to what it was.

[15] We do not know the practises from which our author draws his illustrations here sufficiently to make out his meaning clearly.

is neither withering nor decay. It produces the root and branches, but is neither root nor branch; it produces accumulation and dispersion, but is itself neither accumulated nor dispersed."

CHAPTER VII

A-ho Kan [16] and Shan Nang studied together under Lao-lung Chi. Shan Nang [17] was leaning forward on his stool, having shut the door and gone to sleep in the day-time. At midday A-ho Kan pushed open the door and entered, saying, "Lao-lung is dead." Shan Nang leaned forward on his stool, laid hold of his staff and rose. Then he laid the staff aside with a clash, laughed and said, "That Heaven knew how cramped and mean, how arrogant and assuming I was, and therefore he has cast me off, and is dead. Now that there is no Master to correct my heedless words, it is simply for me to die!" Yen Kang, who had come in to condole, heard these words, and said, "It is to him who embodies the Tao that the superior men everywhere cling. Now you who do not understand so much as the tip of an autumn hair of it, not even the ten-thousandth part of the Tao, still know how to keep hidden your heedless words about it and die; how much more might he who embodied the Tao do so! We look for it, and there is no form; we harken for it, and there is no sound. When men try to discuss it, we call them dark indeed. When they discuss the Tao, they misrepresent it."

Hereupon Grand Purity [18] asked Infinitude,[18] saying, "Do you know the Tao?" "I do not know it," was the reply. He then asked Do-nothing,[18] who replied, "I know it." "Is your knowledge of it determined by various points?" "It is." "What are they?" Do-nothing said,

[16] We can hardly be said to know anything more of the first and third of these men than what is mentioned here.

[17] Shan Nang is well known, as coming in the chronological list between Fu-hsi and Hwang-Ti; and we are surprised that a higher place is not given to him among the Taoist patriarchs than our author assigns to him here.

[18] These names, like those in the first paragraph of the Book, are metaphorical, intended, no doubt, to set forth attributes of the Tao, and to suggest to the reader what it is or what it is not.

"I know that the Tao may be considered noble, and may be considered mean, that it may be bound and compressed, and that it may be dispersed and diffused. These are the marks by which I know it." Grand Purity took the words of those two, and asked No-beginning, saying, "Such were their replies; which was right? and which was wrong? Infinitude's saying that he did not know it? or Do-nothing's saying that he knew it?" No-beginning said, "The 'I do not know it' was profound, and the 'I know it' was shallow. The former had reference to its internal nature; the latter to its external conditions. Grand Purity looked up and sighed, saying, "Is 'not to know it' then to know it? And is 'to know it' not to know it? But who knows that he who does not know it really knows it?" No-beginning replied, "The Tao can not be heard; what can be heard is not It. The Tao can not be seen; what can be seen is not It. The Tao can not be expressed in words; what can be expressed in words is not It. Do we know the Formless which gives form to form? In the same way the Tao does not admit of being named."

No-beginning further said, "If one ask about the Tao and another answer him, neither of them knows it. Even the former who asks has never learned anything about the Tao. He asks what does not admit of being asked, and the latter answers where answer is impossible. When one asks what does not admit of being asked, his questioning is in dire extremity. When one answers where answer is impossible, he has no internal knowledge of the subject. When people without such internal knowledge wait to be questioned by others in dire extremity, they show that externally they see nothing of space and time, and internally know nothing of the Grand Commencement.[19] Therefore they can not cross over the Khwan-lun,[20] nor roam in the Grand Void."

CHAPTER VIII

Starlight[21] asked Nonentity,[21] saying, "Master, do you

[19] The first beginning of all things or of anything.

[20] The Khwan-lun may be considered the Sacred Mountain of Taoism

[21] The characters *Kwang Yao* denote the points of light all over the

exist? or do you not exist?" He got no answer to his question, however, and looked steadfastly to the appearance of the other, which was that of a deep void. All day long he looked to it, but could see nothing; he listened for it, but could hear nothing; he clutched at it, but got hold of nothing.[22] Starlight then said, "Perfect! Who can attain to this? I can conceive the ideas of existence and non-existence, but I can not conceive the ideas of non-existing non-existence, and still there be a non-existing existence. How is it possible to reach to this?"

CHAPTER IX

The forger of swords for the Minister of War had reached the age of eighty, and had not lost a hair's-breadth of his ability. The Minister said to him, "You are indeed skilful, Sir. Have you any method that makes you so?" The man said, "Your servant has always kept to his work. When I was twenty, I was fond of forging swords. I looked at nothing else. I paid no attention to anything but swords. By my constant practise of it, I came to be able to do the work without any thought of what I was doing. By length of time one acquires ability at any art; and how much more one who is ever at work on it! What is there which does not depend on this, and succeed by it?"

CHAPTER X

Tsan Chiu[23] asked Chung-ni, saying, "Can it be known how it was before heaven and earth?" The reply was, "It can. It was the same of old as now." Tsan Chiu asked no more and withdrew. Next day, however, he had another interview, and said, "Yesterday I asked whether it could be known how it was before heaven and earth, and you, Master, said, 'It can. As it is now, so it was of old.' Yesterday,

sky, "dusted with stars." I can think of no better translation for them, as personified here, than "starlight." "Nonentity" is a personification of the Tao; as no existing thing, but the idea of the order that pervades and regulates throughout the universe.

[22] A quotation from the "Tao-Teh King," chapter XIV.

[23] One of the disciples of Confucius—"Analects" VI, 3.

I seemed to understand you clearly, but to-day it is dark to me. I venture to ask you for an explanation of this." Chung-ni said, " Yesterday you seemed to understand me clearly, because your own spiritual nature had anticipated my reply. To-day it seems dark to you, for you are in an unspiritual mood, and are trying to discover the meaning. In this matter there is no old time and no present; no beginning and no ending. Could it be that there were grandchildren and children before there were other grandchildren and children?" [24]

Tsan Chiu had not made any reply, when Chung-ni went on, " Let us have done. There can be no answering on your part. We can not with life give life to death; we can not with death give death to life. Do death and life wait for each other? There is that which contains them both in its one comprehension.[25] Was that which was produced before Heaven and Earth a thing? That which made things and gave to each its character was not itself a thing. Things came forth and could not be before things, as if there had previously been things; — as if there had been things producing one another without end. The love of the sages for others, and never coming to an end, is an idea taken from this."

CHAPTER XI

Yen Yuan asked Chung-ni, saying, " Master, I have heard you say, ' There should be no demonstration of welcoming; there should be no movement to meet'; I venture to ask in what way this affection of the mind may be shown." The reply was, " The ancients, amid all external changes, did not change internally; nowadays men change internally, but take no note of external changes. When one only notes the changes of things, himself continuing one and the same, he

[24] Hu Wan-ying says, " Before there can be grandsons and sons there must be grandfathers and fathers to transmit them, so before there were the present heaven and earth, there must have been another heaven and earth." But I am not sure that he has in this remark exactly caught our author's meaning.

[25] Meaning the Tao.

does not change. How should there be a difference between his changing and not changing? How should he put himself in contact with and come under the influence of those external changes? He is sure, however, to keep his points of contact with them from being many. The park of Shih-wei,[26] the garden of Hwang-Ti, the palace of the Lord of Yu, and the houses of Thang and Wu — these all were places in which this was done. But the superior men so called, of later days, such as the masters of the Literati and of Mohism, were bold to attack each other with their controversies; and how much more so are the men of the present day! Sages in dealing with others do not wound them; and they who do not wound others can not be wounded by them. Only he whom others do not injure is able to welcome and meet men.

"Forests and marshes make me joyful and glad; but before the joy is ended, sadness comes and succeeds to it. When sadness and joy come, I can not prevent their approach; when they go, I can not retain them. How sad it is that men should only be as lodging-houses for things, and the emotions which they excite! They know what they meet, but they do not know what they do not meet; they use what power they have, but they can not be strong where they are powerless. Such ignorance and powerlessness are what men can not avoid. That they should try to avoid what they can not avoid, is not this also sad? Perfect speech is to put speech away; perfect action is to put action away; to digest all knowledge that is known is a thing to be despised."

[26] This personage has occurred before in Book VI, chapter VII — at the head of the most ancient sovereigns, who were in possession of the Tao. His "park" as a place for moral and intellectual inquiry is here mentioned — so early was there a certain quickening of the mental faculties in China.

affording a proof of his love for men; his practising them in his own case would certainly show that he did not love himself; but this has not been sufficient to overthrow the views of Mo-tze. Notwithstanding, men will sing, and he condemns singing; men will wail, and he condemns wailing; men will express their joy, and he condemns such expression: is this truly in accordance with man's nature? Through life toil, and at death niggardliness — his way is one of great unkindliness. Causing men sorrow and melancholy, and difficult to be carried into practise, I fear it can not be regarded as the way of a sage. Contrary to the minds of men everywhere, men will not endure it. Though Mo-tze himself might be able to endure it, how can the aversion of the world to it be overcome? The world averse to it, it must be far from the way of the ancient kings.

Mo-tze, in praise of his views, said, "Anciently, when Yu was draining off the waters of the flood, he set free the channels of the Chiang and the Ho, and opened communications with them from the regions of the four I and the nine provinces. The famous hills with which he dealt were 300, the branch streams were 3000, and the smaller ones innumerable. With his own hands he carried the sack and wielded the spade, till he had united all the streams of the country, conducting them to the sea. There was no hair left on his legs from the knee to the ankle. He bathed his hair in the violent wind, and combed it in the pelting rain, thus marking out the myriad states. Yu was a great sage, and thus he toiled in the service of the world." The effect of this is that in this later time most of the Mohists wear skins and dolychos cloth, with shoes of wood or twisted hemp, not stopping day or night, but considering such toiling on their part as their highest achievement. They say that he who can not do this is acting contrary to the way of Yu, and not fit to be a Mohist.

The disciples of Chin of Hsiang-li,[11] the followers of the various feudal lords;[12] and Mohists of the south, such as

[11] Some say this Chin was the preceptor of Mo Ti.

[12] Easily translated; but the statement has not been historically illustrated.

Khu Hu,[13] Chi Chih,[13] and Tang Ling-tze,[13] all repeated the texts of Mo, but they differed in the objections which they offered to them, and in their deceitful glosses they called one another Mohists of different schools. They had their disputations, turning on "what was hard," and "what was white," what constituted "sameness" and what "difference," and their expressions about the difference between "the odd" and "the even," with which they answered one another. They regarded their most distinguished member as a sage, and wished to make him their chief, hoping that he would be handed down as such to future ages. To the present day these controversies are not determined.

The idea of Mo Ti and Chin Hwa-li was good, but their practise was wrong. They would have made the Mohists of future ages feel it necessary to toil themselves, till there was not a hair on their legs, and still be urging one another on; thus producing a condition superior indeed to disorder, but inferior to the result of good government. Nevertheless, Mo-tze was indeed one of the best men in the world, which you may search without finding his equal. Decayed and worn his person might be, but he is not to be rejected — a scholar of ability indeed!

CHAPTER III

To keep from being entangled by prevailing customs; to shun all ornamental attractions in one's self; not to be reckless in his conduct to others; not to set himself stubbornly against a multitude; to desire the peace and repose of the world in order to preserve the lives of the people; and to cease his action when enough had been obtained for the nourishment of others and himself, showing that this was the aim of his mind — such a scheme belonged to the system of the Tao in antiquity, and it was appreciated by Sung Hsing[14] and Yin Wan.[14] When they heard of such ways,

[13] Known only by the mention of them here.

[14] Both these men are said to have been of the time of King Hsuan of Chi. In the Catalogue of the Imperial Library of Han, Yin Wan appears, but not among the Taoist writers, as the author of "one

they were delighted with them. They made the *Hwa-shan* cap, and wore it as their distinguishing badge. In their intercourse with others, whatever their differences might be, they began by being indulgent to them. Their name for "the Forbearance of the Mind" was "the Action of the Mind." By the warmth of affection they sought the harmony of joy, and to blend together all within the four seas; and their wish was to plant this everywhere as the chief thing to be pursued. They endured insult without feeling it a disgrace; they sought to save the people from fighting; they forbade aggression and sought to hush the weapons of strife, to save their age from war. In this way they went everywhere, counseling the high and instructing the low. Though the world might not receive them, they only insisted on their object the more strongly, and would not abandon it. Hence it is said, "The high and the low might be weary of them, but they were strong to show themselves."

Notwithstanding all this, they acted too much out of regard to others, and too little for themselves. It was as if they said, "What we request and wish is simply that there may be set down for us five pints of rice — that will be enough." But I fear the Master would not get his fill from this; and the disciples, though famishing, would still have to be mindful of the world, and, never stopping day or night, have to say, "Is it necessary I should preserve my life? Shall I scheme how to exalt myself above the master, the savior of the age?"

It was, moreover, as if they said, "The superior man does not censoriously scrutinize the faults of others; he does not borrow from others to supersede his own endeavors; when any think that he is of no use to the world, he knows that their intelligence is inferior to his own; he considers the prohibition of aggression and causing the disuse of arms to be an external achievement, and the making his own desires to be few and slight to be the internal triumph." Such was their discrimination between the great and the small, the

Treatise." He is said also to have been the preceptor of Kung-sun Lung.

subtle and the coarse; and with the attainment of this they stopped.

CHAPTER IV

Public-spirited, and with nothing of the partizan; easy and compliant, without any selfish partialities; capable of being led, without any positive tendencies; following in the wake of others, without any double mind; not looking round because of anxious thoughts; not scheming in the exercise of their wisdom; not choosing between parties, but going along with all — all such courses belonged to the Taoists of antiquity, and they were appreciated by Phang Mang, Thien Phien, and Shan Tao. When they heard of such ways, they were delighted with them. They considered that the first thing for them to do was to adjust the controversies about different things. They said, "Heaven can cover, but it can not sustain; Earth can contain, but it can not cover. The Great Tao embraces all things, but It does not discriminate between them."

They knew that all things have what they can do and what they can not do. Hence it is said, "If you select, you do not reach all; if you teach some things, you must omit the others; but the Tao neglects none." Therefore Shan Tao discarded his knowledge and also all thought of himself, acting only where he had no alternative, and pursued it as his course to be indifferent and pure in his dealings with others. He said that the best knowledge was to have no knowledge, and that if we had a little knowledge it was likely to prove a dangerous thing. Conscious of his unfitness, he undertook no charge, and laughed at those who valued ability and virtue. Remiss and evasive, he did nothing, and disallowed the greatest sages which the world had known. Now with a hammer, now with his hand, smoothing all corners, and breaking all bonds, he accommodated himself to all conditions. He disregarded right and wrong, his only concern being to avoid trouble; he learned nothing from the wise and thoughtful, and took no note of the succession of events, thinking only of carrying himself with a lofty disregard of everything. He went where he was pushed, and followed where

he was led, like a whirling wind, like a feather tossed about, like the revolutions of a grindstone.

What was the reason that he appeared thus complete, doing nothing wrong? that, whether in motion or at rest, he committed no error, and could be charged with no transgression? Creatures that have no knowledge are free from the troubles that arise from self-assertion and the entanglements that spring from the use of knowledge. Moving and at rest, they do not depart from their proper course, and all their life long they do not receive any praise. Hence Shan Tao said, "Let me come to be like a creature without knowledge. Of what use are the teachings of the sages and worthies?" But a clod of earth never fails in the course proper for it, and men of spirit and eminence laughed together at him, and said, "The way of Shan Tao does not describe the conduct of living men; that it should be predicable only of the dead is strange indeed!"

It was just the same with Thien Phien. He learned under Phang Mang, but it was as if he were not taught at all. The master of Phang Mang said, "The Taoist professors of old came no further than to say that nothing was absolutely right and nothing absolutely wrong." His spirit was like the breath of an opposing wind; how can it be described in words? But he was always contrary to the views of other men, which he would not bring together to view, and he did not escape shaving the corners and bonds of which I have spoken. What he called the Tao was not the true Tao, and what he called the right was really the wrong.

Phang Mang, Thien Phien, and Shan Tao did not in fact know the Tao; but nevertheless they had heard in a general way about it.

CHAPTER V

To take the root from which things spring as the essential part, and the things as its coarse embodiment; to see deficiency in accumulation; and in the solitude of one's individuality to dwell with the spirit-like and intelligent — such a course belonged to the Tao of antiquity, and it was appreciated by Kwan Yin and Lao-Tze. When they heard of

such ways they were delighted with them. They built their system on the assumption of an eternal non-existence, and made the ruling idea in it that of the Grand Unity. They made weakness and humility their mark of distinction, and considered that by empty vacuity no injury could be sustained, but all things be preserved in their substantiality.

Kwan Yin says, "To him who does not dwell in himself the forms of things show themselves as they are. His movement is like that of water; his stillness is like that of a mirror; his response is like that of the echo. His tenuity makes him seem to be disappearing altogether; he is still as a clear lake, harmonious in his association with others, and he counts gain as loss. He does not take precedence of others, but follows them." Lao Tan[15] says, "He knows his masculine power, but maintains his female weakness — becoming the channel into which all streams flow. He knows his white purity, but keeps his disgrace — becoming the valley of the world. Men all prefer to be first; he alone chooses to be last, saying, 'I will receive the offscourings of the world.' Men all choose fulness; he alone chooses emptiness. He does not store, and therefore he has a superabundance; he looks solitary, but has a multitude around him. In his conducting of himself he is easy and leisurely and wastes nothing. He does nothing, and laughs at the clever and ingenious. Men all seek for happiness, but he feels complete in his imperfect condition, and says, 'Let me only escape blame.' He regards what is deepest as his root, and what is most restrictive as his rule; and says, 'The strong is broken; the sharp and pointed is blunted.'[16] He is always generous and forbearing with others, and does not encroach on any man; this may be pronounced the height of perfection."

O Kwan Yin, and Lao Tan, ye were among the greatest men of antiquity; True men indeed!

[15] This is another name for Lao-Tze.

[16] From the "Lao Tan says" down to this, may be said to be all quotation, with more or less exactness, from the "Tao-Teh King." See chapters XXVIII, XXII, et al.

CHAPTER VI

That the shadowy and still is without bodily form; that change and transformation are ever proceeding, but incapable of being determined. What is death? What is life? What is meant by the union of Heaven and Earth? Does the spiritual intelligence go away? Shadowy, where does it go? Subtle, whither does it proceed? All things being arranged as they are, there is no one place which can be fitly ascribed to it. Such were the questions belonging to the scheme of Tao in antiquity, and they were appreciated by Chuang Chau.[17] When he heard of such subjects he was delighted with them. He discussed them, using strange and mystical expressions, wild and extravagant words, and phrases to which no definite meaning could be assigned. He constantly indulged his own wayward ideas, but did not make himself a partizan, nor look at them as peculiar to himself. Considering that men were sunk in stupidity and could not be talked to in dignified style, he employed the words of the cup of endless application, with important quotations to substantiate the truth, and an abundance of corroborative illustrations. He chiefly cared to occupy himself with the spirit-like operation of heaven and earth, and did not try to rise above the myriads of things. He did not condemn the agreements and differences of others, so that he might live in peace with the prevalent views. Though his writings may seem to be sparkling trifles, there is no harm in amusing one's self with them; though his phraseology be ever-varying, its turns and changes are worth being looked at; the fulness and completeness of his ideas can not be exhausted. Above, he seeks delight in the Maker; below, he has a friendly regard to those who consider life and death as having neither beginning nor end. As regards his dealing with the Root (origin of all things), he is comprehensive and great, opening up new views, deep, vast, and free. As regards the Author and Master (the Great Tao Itself), he may be pronounced exact and correct, carrying our thoughts to range and play on

17 Chuang Chau is another name for Chuang-Tze himself. The passage is thus autobiographical.

high. Nevertheless on the subject of transformation, and the emancipation of that from the thraldom of things, his principles are inexhaustible, and are not derived from his predecessors. They are subtle and obscure, and can not be fully explained.

CHAPTER VII

Hui Shih [18] had many ingenious notions. His writings would fill five carriages; but his doctrines were erroneous and contradictory, and his words were wide of their mark. Taking up one thing after another, he would say: "That which is so great that there is nothing outside it may be called the Great One; and that which is so small that there is nothing inside it may be called the Small One." "What has no thickness and will not admit of being repeated is 1000 li in size." [19] "Heaven may be as low as the earth." "A mountain may be as level as a marsh." "The sun in the meridian may be the sun declining." "A creature may be born to life and may die at the same time." "When it is said that things greatly alike are different from things a little alike, this is what is called making little of agreements and differences; when it is said that all things are entirely alike or entirely different, this is what is called making much of agreements and differences." "The south is unlimited and yet has a limit." "I proceed to Yueh to-day and came to it yesterday." "Things which are joined together can be separated." "I know the center of the world — it is north of Yen or south of Yueh." "If all things be regarded with love, heaven and earth are of one body with me."

Hui Shih by such sayings as these made himself very conspicuous throughout the kingdom, and was considered an able debater. All other debaters vied with one another and delighted in similar exhibitions. They would say, "There

[18] Introduced to us in the first Book of our author, and often mentioned in the intervening Books. He was not a Taoist, but we are glad to have the account of him here given, as enabling us to understand better the intellectual life of China in Chuang-tze's time.

[19] It is of little use trying to find the answers to these sayings of Hui Shih and others. They are only riddles or paradoxes.

are feathers in an egg." "A fowl has three feet." "The kingdom belongs to Ying." "A dog might have been called a sheep." "A tadpole has a tail." "Fire is not hot." "A mountain gives forth a voice." "A wheel does not tread on the ground." "The eye does not see." "The finger indicates, but needs not touch, the object." "Where you come to may not be the end." "The tortoise is longer than the snake." "The carpenter's square is not square." "A compass should not itself be round." "A chisel does not surround its handle." "The shadow of a flying bird does not itself move." "Swift as the arrowhead is, there is a time when it is neither flying nor at rest." "A dog is not a hound." "A bay horse and a black ox are three." "A white dog is black." "A motherless colt never had a mother." "If from a stick a foot long you every day take the half of it, in a myriad ages it will not be exhausted." — It was in this way that the debaters responded to Hui Shih, all their lifetime, without coming to an end.

Hwan Twan and Kung-sun Lung were true members of this class. By their specious representations they threw a glamour over men's minds and altered their ideas. They vanquished men in argument, but could not subdue their minds, only keeping them in the enclosure of their sophistry. Hui Shih daily used his own knowledge and the arguments of others to propose strange theses to all debaters — such was his practise. At the same time he would talk freely of himself, thinking himself the ablest among them, and saying, "In heaven or earth who is my match?" Shih maintained indeed his masculine energy, but he had not the art of controversy.

In the south there was a man of extraordinary views, named Hwang Liao, who asked him how it was that the sky did not fall nor the earth sink, and what was the cause of wind, rain, and the thunder's roll and crash. Shih made no attempt to evade the questions, and answered him without any exercise of thought, talking about all things, without pause, on and on without end; yet still thinking that his words were few, and adding to them the strangest obser-

vations. He thought that to contradict others was a real triumph, and wished to make himself famous by overcoming them; and on this account he was not liked by the multitude of debaters. He was weak in real attainment, though he might seem strong in comparison with others, and his way was narrow and dark. If we look at Hui Shih's ability from the standpoint of Heaven and Earth, it was only like the restless activity of a mosquito or gadfly; of what service was it to anything? To give its full development to any one capacity is a good thing, and he who does so is in the way to a higher estimation of the Tao; but Hui Shih could find no rest for himself in doing this. He diffused himself over the world of things without satiety, till in the end he had only the reputation of being a skilful debater. Alas! Hui Shih, with all his talents, vast as they were, made nothing out; he pursued all subjects and never came back with success. It was like silencing an echo by his shouting, or running a race with his shadow. Alas!

END OF CHUANG-TZE'S LAST BOOK

ANECDOTES

(FROM THE OTHER BOOKS OF CHUANG-TZE)

There was a man who, having had an interview with the King of Sung, and been presented by him with ten carriages, showed them boastfully to Chuang-tze, as if the latter had been a boy. Chuang-tze said to him, "Near the Ho there was a poor man who supported his family by weaving rushes to form screens. His son, when diving in a deep pool, found a pearl worth a thousand ounces of silver. The father said, 'Bring a stone, and break it in pieces. A pearl of this value must have been in a pool nine *chung* deep, and under the chin of the Black Dragon. That you were able to get it must have been owing to your finding him asleep. Let him awake, and the consequences to you will not be small!' Now the kingdom of Sung is deeper than any pool of nine *chung,* and its king is fiercer than the Black Dragon. That you were able to get the chariots must have been owing to your finding him asleep. Let him awake, and you will be ground to powder."

Some ruler having sent a message of invitation to him, Chuang-tze replied to the messenger, "Have you seen, Sir, a sacrificial ox? It is robed with ornamental embroidery, and feasted on fresh grass and beans. But when it is led into the grand ancestral temple, though it wished to be again a solitary calf, would that be possible for it?"

When Chuang-tze was about to die, his disciples signified their wish to give him a grand burial. "I shall have heaven and earth," said he, "for my coffin and its shell; the sun and moon for my two round symbols of jade; the stars and constellations for my pearls and jewels; and all things assisting as the mourners. Will not the provisions for my burial be complete? What could you add to them?" The dis-

ciples replied, "We are afraid that the crows and kites will eat our master." Chuang-tze rejoined, "Above, the crows and kites will eat me; below, the mole-crickets and ants will eat me: to take from those and give to these would only show your partiality."

When Confucius was in his fifty-first year,[1] he had not heard of the Tao, and went south to Phei to see Lao-Tze, who said to him, "You have come, Sir; have you? I have heard that you are the wisest man of the North; have you also got the Tao?" "Not yet," was the reply; and the other went on, "Have you sought it?" Confucius said, "I sought it in measures and numbers, and after five years I had not got it." "And how then did you seek it?" "I sought it in the Yin and Yang, and after twelve years I have not found it." Lao-Tze said, "Just so! If the Tao could be presented to another, men would all present it to their rulers; if it could be served up to others, men would all serve it up to their parents; if it could be told to others, men would all tell it to their brothers; if it could be given to others, men would all give it to their sons and grandsons. The reason why it can not be transmitted is no other but this — that if, within, there be not the presiding principle, it will not remain there, and if, outwardly, there be not the correct obedience, it will not be carried out. When that which is given out from the mind in possession of it is not received by the mind without, the sage will not give it out; and when, entering in from without, there is no power in the receiving mind to entertain it, the sage will not permit it to lie hid there.[2] Fame is a possession common to all; we should not seek to have much of it. Benevolence and righteousness were as the lodging-houses of the former kings; we should only rest in them for a night, and not occupy them for long. If men see us doing so, they will have much to say against us.

[1] This would be in 503 or 502 B.C., and Lao-Tze would be more than a hundred years old.

[2] That is, the sage will not deposit it, where it will lie hidden; compare "Analects" XVI.

"The perfect men of old trod the path of benevolence as a path which they borrowed for the occasion, and dwelt in Righteousness as in a lodging which they used for a night. Thus they rambled in the vacancy of Untroubled Ease, found their food in the fields of Indifference, and stood in the gardens which they had not borrowed. Untroubled Ease requires the doing of nothing; Indifference is easily supplied with nourishment; not borrowing needs no outlay. The ancients called this the Enjoyment that Collects the True.

"Those who think that wealth is the proper thing for them can not give up their revenues; those who seek distinction can not give up the thought of fame; those who cleave to power can not give the handle of it to others. While they hold their grasp of those things, they are afraid of losing them. When they let them go, they are grieved; and they will not look at a single example, from which they might perceive the folly of their restless pursuits: such men are under the doom of Heaven.

"Hatred and kindness; taking and giving; reproof and instruction; death and life — these eight things are instruments of rectification, but only those are able to use them who do not obstinately refuse to comply with their great changes. Hence it is said, 'Correction is Rectification.' When the minds of some do not acknowledge this, it is because the gate of Heaven in them has not been opened."

At an interview with Lao-Tze, Confucius spoke to him of benevolence and righteousness. Lao-Tze said, "If you winnow chaff, and the dust gets into your eyes, then the places of heaven and earth and of the four cardinal points are all changed to you. If mosquitoes or gadflies puncture your skin, it will keep you all the night from sleeping. But this painful iteration of benevolence and righteousness excites my mind and produces in it the greatest confusion. If you, Sir, would cause men not to lose their natural simplicity, and if you would also imitate the wind in its unconstrained movements, and stand forth in all the natural attributes belonging to you! — why must you use so much

energy, and carry a great drum to seek for the son whom you have lost? The snow-goose does not bathe every day to make itself white, nor the crow blacken itself every day to make itself black. The natural simplicity of their black and white does not afford any ground for controversy; and the fame and praise which men like to contemplate do not make them greater than they naturally are. When the springs supplying the pools are dried up, the fishes huddle together on the dry land. Than that they should moisten one another there by their gasping, and keep one another wet by their milt, it would be better for them to forget one another in the rivers and lakes."

From this interview with Lao-Tze, Confucius returned home, and for three days did not speak. His disciples then asked him, saying, "Master, you have seen Lao-Tze; in what way might you admonish and correct him?" Confucius said, "In him I may say that I have now seen the dragon. The dragon coils itself up, and there is its body; it unfolds itself and becomes the dragon complete. It rides on the cloudy air, and is nourished by the Yin and Yang. I kept my mouth open, and was unable to shut it — how could I admonish and correct Lao-Tze?"

Tze-kung[3] said, "So then, can this man indeed sit still as a representative of the dead, and then appear as the dragon? Can his voice resound as thunder, when he is profoundly still? Can he exhibit himself in his movements like heaven and earth? May I, Tshze, also get to see him?" Accordingly with a message from Confucius he went to see Lao-Tze.

Lao-Tze was then about to answer his salutation haughtily in the hall, but he said in a low voice, "My years have rolled on and are passing away, what do you, Sir, wish to admonish me about?" Tze-kung replied, "The Three Kings and Five Tis ruled the world not in the same way, but the fame that has accrued to them is the same. How is it

[3] Tze-kung would seem to have undertaken this expedition to maintain the reputation of the Master and his school — only to be defeated by Lao-Tze more signally than Confucius had been.

that you alone consider that they were not sages?" "Come forward a little, my son. Why do you say that their government was not the same?" "Yao," was the reply, "gave the kingdom to Shun, and Shun gave it to Yu. Yu had recourse to his strength, and Thang to the force of arms. King Wan was obedient to Chau-hsin, and did not dare to rebel; King Wu rebelled against Chau, and would not submit to him. And I say that their methods were not the same." Lao-Tze said, "Come a little more forward, my son, and I will tell you how the Three Hwangs and the Five Tis ruled the world. Hwang-Ti ruled it so as to make the minds of the people all conformed to the One simplicity. If the parents of one of them died, and he did not wail, no one blamed him. Yao ruled it so as to cause the hearts of the people to cherish relative affection. If any, however, made the observances on the death of other members of their kindred less than those for their parents, no one blamed them.[4] Shun ruled it so as to produce a feeling of rivalry in the minds of the people. Their wives gave birth to their children in the tenth month of their pregnancy, but those children could speak at five months; and before they were three years old, they began to call people by their surnames and names. Then it was that men began to die prematurely. Yu ruled it so as to cause the minds of the people to become changed. Men's minds became scheming, and they used their weapons as if they might legitimately do so, saying that they were killing thieves and not killing other men. The people formed themselves into different combinations; so it was throughout the kingdom. Everywhere there was great consternation, and then arose the Literati and the followers of Mo (Ti). From them came first the doctrine of the relationships of society; and what can be said of the now prevailing customs in the marrying of wives and daughters? I tell you that the rule of the Three Kings and Five Tis may be called by that name, but nothing can be greater than the disorder which it produced. The wisdom of the Three Kings was opposed to the brightness of the sun and moon

[4] Referring to some abuses, contrary to the doctrine of relationship.

above, contrary to the exquisite purity of the hills and streams below, and subversive of the beneficent gifts of the four seasons between. Their wisdom has been more fatal than the sting of a scorpion or the bite of a dangerous beast. Unable to rest in the true attributes of their nature and constitution, they still regarded themselves as sages: was it not a thing to be ashamed of? But they were shameless." Tze-kung stood quite disconcerted and ill at ease.

Confucius said to Lao-Tze, "I have occupied myself with the Shih, the Shu, the Li, the Yo, the Yi, and the Chun Chiu, those six Books, for what I myself consider a long time,[5] and am thoroughly acquainted with their contents. With seventy-two rulers, all offenders against the right, I have discoursed about the ways of the former kings, and set forth the examples of the dukes of Chau and Shao; and not one of them has adopted my views and put them in practise — how very difficult it is to prevail on such men, and to make clear the path to be pursued!"

Lao-Tze replied, "It is fortunate that you have not met with a ruler fitted to rule the age. Those six writings are a description of the vestiges left by the former kings, but do not tell how they made such vestiges; and what you, Sir, speak about are still only the vestiges. But vestiges are the prints left by the shoes; are they the shoes that produced them? A pair of white herons look at each other with pupils that do not move, and impregnation takes place; the male insect emits its buzzing sound in the air above, and the female responds from the air below, and impregnation takes place; the creatures called *lei* are both male and female, and each individual breeds of itself. The nature can not be altered; the conferred constitution can not be changed; the march of the seasons can not be arrested; the Tao can not be stopped. If you get the Tao, there is no effect that can not be produced; if you miss it, there is no effect that can."

[5] But with the preparation of the Chun Chiu Confucius's life ended — it is very plain that no conversation such as Chuang-tze has fabricated here could ever have taken place.

Confucius after this did not go out, till at the end of three months he went again to see Lao-Tze, and said, "I have got it. Ravens produce their young by hatching; fishes by the communication of their milt; the small-waisted wasp by transformation; when a younger brother comes, the elder weeps. Long is it that I have not played my part in harmony with these processes of transformation. But as I did not play my part in harmony with such transformation, how could I transform men?" Lao-Tze said, "You will do. Chiu, you have found the Tao."

When Chuang-tze's wife died, Hui-tze went to condole with him, and, finding him squatted on the ground, drumming on the basin, and singing, said to him, "When a wife has lived with her husband, and brought up children, and then dies in her old age, not to wail for her is enough. When you go on to drum on this basin and sing, is it not an excessive and strange demonstration?" Chuang-tze replied, "It is not so. When she first died, was it possible for me to be singular and not affected by the event? But I reflected on the commencement of her being. She had not yet been born to life; not only had she no life, but she had no bodily form; not only had she no bodily form, but she had no breath. During the intermingling of the waste and dark chaos there ensued a change, and there was breath; another change, and there was the bodily form; another change, and there came birth and life. There is now a change again, and she is dead. The relation between these things is like the procession of the four seasons from spring to autumn, from winter to summer. There now she lies with her face up, sleeping in the Great Chamber; and if I were to fall sobbing and going on to wail for her, I should think that I did not understand what was appointed for all. I therefore restrained myself!"

Mr. Deformed and Mr. One-foot were looking at the mound-graves of the departed in the wild of Khwan-lun, where Hwang-Ti had entered into his rest. Suddenly a

tumor began to grow on their left wrists, which made them look distressed as if they disliked it. The former said to the other, "Do you dread it?" "No," replied he, "why should I dread it? Life is a borrowed thing. The living frame thus borrowed is but so much dust. Life and death are like day and night. And you and I were looking at the graves of those who have undergone their change. If my change is coming to me, why should I dislike it?"

When Chuang-tze went to Chu, he saw an empty skull, bleached indeed, but still retaining its shape. Tapping it with his horse-switch, he asked it, saying, "Did you, Sir, in your greed of life, fail in the lessons of reason, and come to this? Or did you do so, in the service of a perishing State, by the punishment of the axe? Or was it through your evil conduct, reflecting disgrace on your parents and on your wife and children? Or was it that you had completed your term of life?"

Having given expression to these questions, he took up the skull, and made a pillow of it when he went to sleep. At midnight the skull appeared to him in a dream, and said, "What you said to me was after the fashion of an orator. All your words were about the entanglements of men in their lifetime. There is none of those things after death. Would you like to hear me, Sir, tell you about death?" "I should," said Chuang-tze, and the skull resumed: "In death there are not the distinctions of ruler above and minister below. There is none of the phenomena of the four seasons. Tranquil and at ease, our years are those of heaven and earth. No king in his court has greater enjoyment than we have." Chuang-tze did not believe it, and said, "If I could get the Ruler of our Destiny to restore your body to life with its bones and flesh and skin, and to give you back your father and mother, your wife and children, and all your village acquaintances, would you wish me to do so?" The skull stared fixedly at him, knitted its brows, and said, "How should I cast away the enjoyment of my royal court, and undertake again the toils of mankind?"

THE DOUBTFUL WORKS OF CHUANG-TZE [1]

Book XXIX

TAO CHIH, OR "THE ROBBER CHIH"

CHAPTER I

Confucius was on terms of friendship with Liu-hsia Chi,[2] who had a brother named Tao Chih. This Tao Chih had 9,000 followers, who marched at their will through the kingdom, assailing and oppressing the different princes. They dug through walls and broke into houses; they drove away people's cattle and horses; they carried off people's wives and daughters. In their greed to get, they forgot the claims of kinship, and paid no regard to their parents and brethren. They did not sacrifice to their ancestors. Wherever they passed through the country, in the larger States the people guarded their city walls, and in the smaller the people took to their strongholds. All were distressed by them.

Confucius spoke to Liu-hsia Chi, saying, "Fathers should be able to lay down the law to their sons, and elder to instruct their younger brothers. If they are unable to do so, they do not fulfil the duties of the relationships which they

[1] The three books here given are sometimes classed as the 29th, 30th, and 31st of Chuang's books, but many Chinese critics doubt their authenticity. Yet, if forgeries, they are very ancient ones, being older than the Christian era, and they are typical of the author's reckless invention of whimsical tales.

[2] Better known as Liu-hsia Hui, under which designation he is mentioned both in the Confucian "Analects" and in Mencius, but it is an anachronism to say that Confucius was on terms of friendship with him. He was a scion of the distinguished family of Chan in Lu, and was called Chan Hwo and Chan Chin. We find, in the Tso Chuan, a son of his employed in an important expedition in 634 B.C., so that he, probably, had passed away before Confucius was born in 551 B.C., and must certainly have deceased before the death of Tze-lu (480), which is mentioned.

sustain. You, Sir, are one of the most talented officers of the age, and your younger brother is this Robber Chih. He is a pest in the kingdom, and you are not able to instruct him better; I can not but be ashamed of you, and I beg to go for you and give him counsel." Liu-hsia Chi replied, "You say, Sir, that fathers must be able to lay down the law to their sons, and elder to instruct their younger brothers, but if sons will not listen to the orders of their fathers, nor the younger receive the lessons of their elder brothers, though one may have your powers of persuasion, what is to be done? And, moreover, Chih is a man whose mind is like a gushing fountain, and his will like a whirlwind; he is strong enough to resist all enemies, and clever enough to gloss over his wrong-doings. If you agree with him, he is glad; if you oppose him, he is enraged; and he readily meets men with the language of abuse. You must not go to him."

Confucius, however, did not attend to this advice. With Yen Hui as his charioteer, and Tze-kung seated on the right, he went to see Tao Chih, whom he found with his followers halted on the south of Thai-shan, and mincing men's livers, which he gave them to eat. Confucius alighted from his carriage, and went forward, till he saw the usher, to whom he said, "I, Khung Chiu of Lu, have heard of the general's lofty righteousness," bowing twice respectfully to the man as he said so. The usher went in and announced the visitor. But when Tao Chih heard of the arrival, he flew into a great rage; his eyes became like blazing stars, and his hair rose up and touched his cap. "Is not this fellow," said he, "Khung Chiu, that artful hypocrite of Lu? Tell him from me, 'You invent speeches and babble away, appealing without ground to the examples of Wan and Wu. The ornaments on your cap are as many as the branches of a tree, and your girdle is a piece of skin from the ribs of a dead ox. The more you talk, the more nonsense you utter. You get your food without the labor of plowing, and your clothes without that of weaving. You wag your lips and make your tongue a drum-stick. You arbitrarily decide what is right and what is wrong, thereby leading astray

the princes throughout the kingdom, and making its learned scholars not occupy their thoughts with their proper business. You recklessly set up your filial piety and fraternal duty, and curry favor with the feudal princes, the wealthy, and the noble. Your offense is great; your crime is very heavy. Take yourself off home at once. If you do not do so, I will take your liver, and add it to the provision for to-day's food.'"

But Confucius sent in another message, saying, "I enjoy the good will of your brother Chi, and I wish and hope to tread the ground beneath your tent."[3] When the usher had communicated this message, Tao Chih said, "Make him come forward." On this Confucius hastened forward. Declining to take a mat, he drew hastily back, and bowed twice to Tao Chih, who in a great rage stretched his legs apart, laid his hand on his sword, and with glaring eyes and a voice like the growl of a nursing tigress, said, "Come forward, Chiu. If what you say be in accordance with my mind, you shall live; but, if it be contrary to it, you shall die." Confucius replied, "I have heard that everywhere under the sky there are three most excellent qualities. To be naturally tall and large, to be elegant and handsome without a peer, so that young and old, noble and mean, are pleased to look upon him — this is the highest of those qualities. To comprehend both heaven and earth in his wisdom, and to be able to speak eloquently on all subjects — this is the middle one of them. To be brave and courageous, resolute and daring, gathering the multitudes round him, and leading on his troops — this is the lowest of them. Whoever possesses one of these qualities is fit to stand with his face to the south,[4] and style himself a Prince. But you, General, unite in yourself all the three. Your person is eight cubits and two inches in height; there is a brightness about your face and a light in your eyes; your lips look as if stained with vermilion; your teeth are like rows of

[3] That is, I wish to have an interview with you, to see and speak to you face to face.

[4] To take the position of a ruler in his court.

precious shells; your voice is attuned to the musical tubes, and yet you are named 'The Robber Chih.' I am ashamed of you, General, and can not approve of you. If you are inclined to listen to me, I should like to go as your commissioner to Wu and Yueh in the south; to Chi and Lu in the north; to Sung and Wei in the east; and to Tsin and Chu in the west. I will get them to build for you a great city several hundred li in size, to establish under it towns containing several hundred thousands of inhabitants, and honor you there as a feudal lord. The kingdom will see you begin your career afresh; you will cease from your wars and disband your soldiers; you will collect and nourish your brethren, and along with them offer the sacrifices to your ancestors[5] — this will be a course befitting a sage and an officer of ability, and will fulfil the wishes of the whole kingdom."

"Come forward, Chiu," said Tao Chih, greatly enraged. "Those who can be persuaded by considerations of gain, and to whom remonstrances may be addressed with success, are all ignorant, low, and ordinary people. That I am tall and large, elegant and handsome, so that all who see me are pleased with me — this is an effect of the body left me by my parents. Though you were not to praise me for it, do I not know it myself? And I have heard that he who likes to praise men to their face will also like to speak ill of them behind their back. And when you tell me of a great wall and a multitudinous people, this is to try to persuade me by considerations of gain, and to cocker me as one of the ordinary people. But how could such advantages last for long? Of all great cities there is none so great as the whole kingdom, which was possessed by Yao and Shun, while their descendants now have not so much territory as would admit an awl.[6] Thang and Wu were both set up as the Sons of Heaven, but in after ages their posterity were cut

[5] It is said near the beginning that Chih and his followers had ceased to offer such sacrifices — they had no religion.

[6] The descendants of those worthies were greatly reduced; but they still had a name and a place.

off and extinguished — was not this because the gain of their position was so great a prize?

"And, moreover, I have heard that anciently birds and beasts were numerous, and men were few, so that they lived in nests in order to avoid the animals. In the day-time they gathered acorns and chestnuts, and in the night they roosted on the trees; and on account of this they are called the people of the Nest-builder. Anciently the people did not know the use of clothes. In summer they collected great stores of faggots, and in winter kept themselves warm by means of them; and on account of this they are called the people who knew how to take care of their lives. In the age of Shan Nang, the people lay down in simple innocence, and rose up in quiet security. They knew their mothers, but did not know their fathers. They dwelt along with the elks and deer. They plowed and ate; they wove and made clothes; they had no idea of injuring one another — this was the grand time of Perfect virtue. Hwang-Ti, however, was not able to perpetuate this virtuous state. He fought with Chih-yu[7] in the wild of Cho-lu till the blood flowed over a hundred li. When Yao and Shun arose, they instituted their crowd of ministers. Thang banished his lord. King Wu killed Chau. Since that time the strong have oppressed the weak, and the many tyrannized over the few. From Thang and Wu downward, the rulers have all been promoters of disorder and confusion. You yourself now cultivate and inculcate the ways of Wan and Wu; you handle whatever subjects are anywhere discussed for the instruction of future ages. With your peculiar robe and narrow girdle, with your deceitful speech and hypocritical conduct, you delude the lords of the different States, and are seeking for riches and honors. There is no greater robber than you are — why does not all the world call you the Robber Chiu, instead of styling me the Robber Chih?

"You prevailed by your sweet speeches on Tze-lu, and made him your follower; you made him put away his high cap, lay aside his long sword, and receive your instructions,

[7] Commonly spoken of as "the first rebel."

so that all the world said, 'Khung Chiu is able to arrest violence and repress the wrong-doer'; but in the end, when Tze-lu wished to slay the ruler of Wei, and the affair proved unsuccessful, his body was exhibited in pickle over the eastern gate of the capital; so did your teaching of him come to nothing.

"Do you call yourself a scholar of talent, a sage? Why, you were twice driven out of Lu; you had to run away from Wei; you were reduced to extremity in Chi; you were held in a state of siege between Chan and Tshai; there is no resting-place for your person in the kingdom; your instructions brought Tze-lu to pickle. Such have been the misfortunes attending your course. You have done no good either for yourself or for others; how can your doctrines be worth being thought much of?

"There is no one whom the world exalts so much as it does Hwang-Ti, and still he was not able to perfect his virtue, but fought in the wilderness of Cho-lu, till the blood flowed over a hundred li. Yao was not kind to his son.[8] Shun was not filial. Yu was paralyzed on one side.[9] Thang banished his sovereign. King Wu smote Chau. King Wan was imprisoned in Yu-li. These are the six men of whom the world thinks the most highly, yet when we accurately consider their history, we see that for the sake of gain they all disallowed their true nature, and did violence to its proper qualities and tendencies: their conduct can not be thought of but with deep shame.

"Among those whom the world calls men of ability and virtue were the brothers Po-I and Shu-chi. They declined the rule of Ku-chu, and died of starvation on the hill of Shau-yang, leaving their bones and flesh unburied. Pao Tsiao vaunted his conduct, and condemned the world, but he died with his arms round a tree.[10] When Shan-thu Ti's

[8] Referring to his setting aside his unworthy son, Tan-chu, and giving the throne to Shun.

[9] This, I think, is the meaning; the fact was highly honorable to Yu, and brought on by his devotion to his labors.

[10] A recluse of the time of Confucius, according to Han Ying. After a dispute with Tze-kung, he committed suicide in the way described.

remonstrances were not listened to, he fastened a stone on his back, and threw himself into the Ho, where he was eaten by the fishes and turtles. Chieh Tze-thui was the most devoted of followers, and cut a piece from his thigh as food for Duke Wan. But when the duke afterward overlooked him in his distribution of favors, he was angry, and went away, and was burned to death with a tree in his arms. Wei Shang had made an appointment with a girl to meet him under a bridge; but when she did not come, and the water rose around him, he would not go away, and died with his arms round one of the pillars. The deaths of these four men were not different from those of the dog that is torn in pieces, the pig that is borne away by a current, or the beggar drowned in a ditch with his alms-gourd in his hand. They were all caught as in a net by their desire for fame, not caring to nourish their life to its end, as they were bound to do.

"Among those whom the world calls faithful ministers there have been none like the prince Pi-kan and Wu Tze-hsu. But Tze-hsu's dead body was cast into the Chiang, and the heart of Pi-kan was cut out. These two were what the world calls loyal ministers, but the end has been that everybody laughs at them. Looking at all the above cases, down to those of Tze-hsu and Pi-kan, there is not one worthy to be honored; and as to the admonitions which you, Chiu, wish to impress on me, if you tell me about the state of the dead, I am unable to know anything about it; if you tell me about the things of men alive, they are only such as I have stated, what I have heard and know all about. I will now tell you, Sir, my views about the condition of man. The eyes wish to look on beauty; the ears to hear music; the mouth to enjoy flavors; the will to be gratified. The greatest longevity man can reach is a hundred years; a medium longevity is eighty years; the lowest longevity is sixty. Take away sickness, pining, bereavement, mourning, anxieties, and calamities, the times when, in any of these, one can open his mouth and laugh, are only four or five days in a month. Heaven and earth have no limit of duration, but the death of man has

its appointed time. Take the longest amount of a limited time, and compare it with what is unlimited, its brief existence is not different from the passing of a crevice by one of King Mu's horses. Those who can not gratify their will and natural aims, and nourish their appointed longevity, are all unacquainted with the right Way of life. I cast from me, Chiu, all that you say. Be quick and go. Hurry back and say not a word more. Your Way is only a wild recklessness, deceitful, artful, vain, and hypocritical. It is not available to complete the true nature of man; it is not worth talking about!"

Confucius bowed twice, and hurried away. He went out at the door, and mounted his carriage. Thrice he missed the reins as he tried to take hold of them. His eyes were dazed, and he could not see; and his color was that of slaked lime. He laid hold of the cross-bar, holding his head down, and unable to draw his breath. When he got back, outside the east gate of the capital of Lu, he encountered Liu-hsia Chi, who said to him, "Here you are, right in the gate. For some days I have not seen you. Your carriage and horses are travel-stained — have you not been to see Tao Chih?" Confucius looked up to heaven, sighed, and said, "Yes." The other went on, "And did he not set himself in opposition to all your views, as I said he would do?" "He did. My case has been that of the man who cauterized himself without being ill. I rushed away, stroked the tiger's head, played with his whiskers, and narrowly escaped his mouth."

CHAPTER II

Tze-chang[11] asked Man Kau-teh,[12] saying, "Why do you not pursue a righteous course? Without such a course you will not be believed in; unless you are believed in, you will not be employed in office; and if not employed in office, you will not acquire gain. Thus, if you look at the matter

[11] We are told ("Analects," II, 18) that Tze-chang "studied with a view to official emolument." This is, probably, the reason why he appears as interlocutor in this paragraph.

[12] A fictitious name, meaning, "Full of gain recklessly got."

from the point of reputation, or estimate it from the point of gain, a righteous course is truly the right thing. If you discard the thought of reputation and gain, yet when you think over the thing in your own mind, you will see that the scholar should not be a single day without pursuing a righteous course." Man Kau-teh said, "He who has no shame becomes rich, and he in whom many believe becomes illustrious. Thus the greatest fame and gain would seem to spring from being without shame and being believed in. Therefore if you look at the matter from the point of reputation, or estimate it from the point of gain, to be believed in is the right thing. If you discard the thought of fame and gain, and think over the thing in your own mind, you will see that the scholar in the course which he pursues is simply holding fast his Heavenly nature, and gaining nothing."

Tze-chang said, "Formerly Chieh and Chau each enjoyed the honor of being sovereign, and all the wealth of the kingdom was his; but if you now say to a mere money-grabber, 'Your conduct is like that of Chieh or Chau,' he will look ashamed, and resent the imputation: these two sovereigns are despised by the smallest men. Chung-ni and Mo Ti, on the other hand, were poor, and common men; but if you say to a Prime Minister that his conduct is like that of Chung-ni or Mo Ti, then he will be put out and change countenance, and protest that he is not worthy to be so spoken of: these two philosophers are held to be truly noble by all scholars. Thus it is that the position of sovereign does not necessarily connect with being thought noble, nor the condition of being poor and of common rank with being thought mean. The difference of being thought noble or mean arises from the conduct being good or bad." Man Kau-teh replied, "Small robbers are put in prison; a great robber becomes a feudal lord; and in the gate of the feudal lord your righteous scholars will be found. For instance, Hsiao-po,[13] the Duke Hwan, killed his elder brother, and took his sister-in-law to himself, and yet Kwan Chung became his minister; and Thien Chang, styled Chang-tze, killed his ruler, and usurped

[13] The name of Duke Hwan.

the State,[14] and yet Confucius received a present of silks from him. In their discussions they would condemn the men, but in their conduct they abased themselves before them. In this way their words and actions must have been at war together in their breasts; was it not a contradiction and perversity? As it is said in a book, 'Who is bad? and who is good? The successful is regarded as the Head, and the unsuccessful as the Tail.'"

Tze-chang said, "If you do not follow the usual course of what is held to be right, but observe no distinction between the near and the remote degrees of kin, no difference between the noble and the mean, no order between the old and the young, then how shall a separation be made of the fivefold arrangement of the virtues, and the six parties in the social organization?" Man Kau-teh replied, "Yao killed his eldest son, and Shun banished his half-brother:[15] did they observe the rules about the different degrees of kin? Thang deposed Chieh; King Wu overthrew Chau: did they observe the righteousness that should obtain between the noble and the mean? King Chi took the place of his elder brother, and the Duke of Chau killed his: did they observe the order that should obtain between the elder and the younger? The Literati make hypocritical speeches; the followers of Mo hold that all should be loved equally: do we find in them the separation of the fivefold arrangement of the virtues,[16] and the six parties in the social organization?[17] And further, you, Sir, are all for reputation, and I am all for gain; but where the actual search for reputation and gain may not be in accordance with principle and will not bear to be examined in the light of the right way, let me and you refer the matter to-morrow to the decision of Wu-yo."[18]

[14] There is no evidence but rather the contrary, that Confucius ever received a gift from Thien or Chan Hang.

[15] Exaggerations or misrepresentations.

[16] Probably what are called "the five constant virtues."

[17] The parties in the "Three Bonds of Society," or Three Cardinal Objects of Duty.

[18] If we take Wu-yo as a name, which is the simplest construction, we must still recognize its meaning as denoting "one who is unbound

This Wu-yo said, "The small man pursues after wealth; the superior man pursues after reputation. The way in which they change their feelings and alter their nature is different; but if they were to cast away what they do, and replace it with doing nothing, they would be the same. Hence it is said, 'Do not be a small man — return and pursue after the Heavenly in you. Do not be a superior man — follow the rule of the Heavenly in you. Be it crooked, be it straight, view the thing in the light of Heaven as revealed in you. Look all round on every side of it, and as the time indicates, cease your endeavors. Be it right, be it wrong, hold fast the ring in yourself in which all conditions converge. Alone by yourself, carry out your idea; ponder over the right way. Do not turn your course; do not try to complete your righteousness. You will fail in what you do. Do not haste to be rich; do not follow after your perfection. If you do, you will lose the Heavenly in you.'

"Pi-kan had his heart cut out; Tze-hsu had his eyes gouged out: such were the evil consequences of their loyalty. The upright person bore witness against his father; Wei Shang was drowned: such were the misfortunes of good faith. Pao-tze stood till he was dried up; Shan-tze would not defend himself: such were the injuries brought on by disinterestedness. Confucius did not see his mother;[19] Chuang-tze[20] did not see his father: such were the failures of the righteous. These are instances handed down from former ages, and talked about in these later times. They show us how superior men, in their determination to be correct in their words and resolute in their conduct, paid the penalty of these misfortunes, and were involved in these distresses."

CHAPTER III

Mr. Dissatisfied asked Mr. Know-the-Mean, saying, "There is no man, after all, who does not strive for reputation and pursue after gain. When men are rich, then others

by the conventionalities of opinion." Much of what he is made to say is in rhyme, and might also be so translated.

19 A false charge.

20 The Khwang Chang of Mencius, IV.

go to them. Going to them, they put themselves beneath them. In that position they do honor to them as nobler than themselves. But to see others taking that position and doing honor to us is the way to prolong life, and to secure the rest of the body and the satisfaction of the mind. You alone, Sir, however, have no idea of this. Is it that your knowledge is deficient? Is it that you have the knowledge, but want the strength to carry it into practise? Or is it that your mind is made up to do what you consider right, and never allow yourself to forget it?" Know-the-Mean replied, "Here now is this man judging of us, his contemporaries, and living in the same neighborhood as himself, that we consider ourselves scholars who have abjured all vulgar ways and risen above the world. He is entirely without the thought of submitting to the rule of what is right. He therefore studies ancient times and the present, and the differing questions about the right and wrong, and agrees with the vulgar ideas and influences of the age, abandoning what is most important and discarding what is most honorable, in order to be free to act as he does. But is he not wide of the mark when he thinks that this is the way to promote long life, and to secure the rest of the body and the satisfaction of the mind? He has his painful afflictions and his quiet repose, but he does not inquire how his body is so variously affected; he has his apprehensive terrors, and his happy joys, but he does not inquire how his mind has such different experiences. He knows how to pursue his course, but he does not know why he does so. Even if he had the dignity of the Son of Heaven, and all the wealth of the kingdom were his, he would not be beyond the reach of misfortunes and evils." Dissatisfied rejoined, "But riches are in every way advantageous to man. With them his attainment of the beautiful and mastery of every art become what the perfect man can not obtain nor the sagely man reach to; his appropriation of the bravery and strength of others enables him to exercise a powerful sway; his availing himself of the wisdom and plans of others makes him be accounted intelligent and discriminating; his taking advantage of the virtues

of others makes him be esteemed able and good. Though he may not be the holder of a State, he is looked to with awe as a ruler and father. Moreover, music, beauty, with the pleasures of the taste and of power, are appreciated by men's minds and rejoiced in without any previous learning of them; the body reposes in them without waiting for the example of others. Desire and dislike, avoidance and pursuit, do not require any master — this is the nature of man. Though the world may condemn one's indulgence of them, who can refrain from it?" Know-the-Mean replied, "The action of the wise is directed for the good of the people, but they do not go against the proper rule and degree. Therefore when they have enough, they do not strive for more; they have no further object, and so they do not seek for one. When they have not enough, they will seek for it; they will strive for it in every quarter, and yet not think of themselves as greedy. If they have already a superfluity, they will decline any more; they will decline the throne, and yet not think of themselves as disinterested — the conditions of disinterestedness and greediness are with them not from the constraint of anything external. Through their exercise of introspection, their power may be that of the sovereign, but they will not in their nobility be arrogant to others; their wealth may be that of the whole kingdom, but they will not in their possession of it make a mock of others. They estimate the evils to which they are exposed, and are anxious about the reverses which they may experience. They think how their possessions may be injurious to their nature, and therefore they will decline and not accept them — but not because they seek for reputation and praise.

"Yao and Shun were the sovereigns, and harmony prevailed. It did so, not because of their benevolence toward the people; they would not, for what was deemed admirable, injure their lives. Shan Chuan and Hsu Yu might have been the sovereigns, but they would not receive the throne; not that they declined it without purpose, but they would not by its occupancy injure themselves. These all followed after what was advantageous to them, and declined what was in-

jurious, and all the world celebrates their superiority. Thus, though they enjoy the distinction, they did what they did, not for the sake of the reputation and praise."

Dissatisfied continued his argument, saying, "In thus thinking it necessary for their reputation, they bitterly distressed their bodies, denied themselves what was pleasant, and restricted themselves to a bare sustenance in order to sustain their life; but so they had life-long distress, and long-continued pressure till their death arrived." Know-the-Mean replied, "Tranquil ease is happiness; a superfluity is injurious: so it is with all things, and especially it is so where the superfluity is of wealth. The ears of the rich are provided with the music of bells, drums, flageolets, and flutes; and their mouths are stuffed with the flesh of fed beasts and with wine of the richest flavor; so are their desires satisfied, till they forget their proper business: theirs may be pronounced a condition of disorder. Sunk deeply in their self-sufficiency, they resemble individuals ascending a height with a heavy burden on their backs: their condition may be pronounced one of bitter suffering. They covet riches, thinking to derive comfort from them; they covet power, and would fain monopolize it; when quiet and retired, they are drowned in luxurious indulgence; their persons seem to shine, and they are full of boasting: they may be said to be in a state of disease. In their desire to be rich and striving for gain, they fill their stores, and, deaf to all admonition, refuse to desist from their course. They are even more elated, and hold on their way: their conduct may be pronounced disgraceful. When their wealth is amassed till they can not use it, they clasp it to their breasts and will not part with it; when their hearts are distressed with their very fulness, they still seek for more and will not desist: their condition may be said to be sad. Indoors they are apprehensive of pilfering and begging thieves, and out-of-doors they are afraid of being injured by plundering robbers; indoors they have many chambers and partitions, and out-of-doors they do not dare to go alone: they may be said to be in a state of constant alarm.

"These six conditions are the most deplorable in the world, but they forget them all, and have lost their faculty of judgment. When the evil comes, though they begged it with all the powers of their nature, and by the sacrifice of all their wealth, they could not bring back one day of untroubled peace. When they look for their reputation, it is not to be seen; when they seek for their wealth, it is not to be got. To task their thoughts, and destroy their bodies, striving for such an end as this; is it not a case of great delusion?"

Book XXX

YUEH CHIEN, OR "DELIGHT IN THE SWORD-FIGHT"

Formerly, King Wan of Chao[1] delighted in the sword-fight. More than three thousand men, masters of the weapon, appeared as his guests, lining the way on either side of his gate, and fighting together before him day and night. Over a hundred of them would die or be severely wounded in the course of a year, but he was never weary of looking on at their engagements, so fond was he of them. The thing continued for three years, when the kingdom began to decay, and other States to plan measures against it.

The crown-prince Khwei[2] was distressed, and laid the case before his attendants, saying, "If any one can persuade the king, and put an end to these swordsmen, I will give him a thousand ounces of silver." His attendants said, "Only Chuang-tze is able to do this." Thereupon the prince sent men with a thousand ounces of silver to offer to Chuang-tze, who, however, would not accept them, but went with the messengers. When he saw the prince, he said, "O prince, what have you to say to Chau, and why would you give me the silver?" The prince replied, "I have heard that you, mas-

1 Probably King Hui-wan (298–265 B.C.) of Chao, one of the States into which the great State of Tsin was subdivided, and which afterward all claimed the sovereignty of the kingdom. In this Book Chuang-tze appears as a contemporary of King Wan, which makes the "formerly" with which the paragraph commences seem strange.

2 Sze-ma Chien says nothing of King Wan's love of the sword-fight, nor of his son Khwei.

ter, are sagacious and sage. I sent you respectfully the thousand ounces of silver, as a prelude to the silks and other gifts. But as you decline to receive them, how dare I now tell you what I wished from you?" Chuang-tze rejoined, "I have heard, O prince, that what you wanted me for was to wean the king from what is his delight. Suppose that in trying to persuade his Majesty I should offend him, and not fulfil your expectation, I shall be punished with death; and could I then enjoy this silver? Or suppose that I shall succeed in persuading his Majesty, and accomplish what you desire, what is there in the kingdom of Chao that I might ask for which I would not get?"

The crown-prince said, "Yes; but my father, the king, will see none but swordsmen." Chuang-tze replied, "I know; but I am expert in the use of the sword." "That is well," observed the prince; "but the swordsmen whom his Majesty sees all have their hair in a tangle, with whiskers projecting out. They wear slouching caps with coarse and unornamented tassels, and their coats are cut short behind. They have staring eyes, and talk about the hazards of their game. The king is delighted with all this; but now you are sure to present yourself to him in your scholar's dress, and this will stand greatly in the way of your success."

Chuang-tze said, "I will then, with your leave, get me a swordsman's dress." This was ready in three days, and when he appeared in it before the prince, the latter went with him to introduce him to the king, who then drew his sword from its scabbard and waited for him. When Chuang-tze entered the door of the hall, he did not hurry forward, nor, when he saw the king, did he bow. The king asked him, "What do you want to teach me, Sir, that you have got the prince to mention you beforehand?" The reply was, "I have heard that your Majesty is fond of the sword-fight, and therefore I have sought an interview with you on the ground of my skill in the use of the sword." "What can you do with your sword against an opponent?" "Let me meet with an opponent every ten paces, my sword would deal with him, so that I should not be stopped in a march of a thou-

sand li." The king was delighted with him, and said, "You have not your match in the kingdom." Chuang-tze replied, "A good swordsman first makes a feint against his opponent, then seems to give him an advantage, and finally gives his thrust, reaching him before he can return the blow. I should like to have an opportunity to show you my skill." The king said, "Stop for a little, Master. Go to your lodging, and wait for my orders. I will make arrangements for the play, and then call you."

The king accordingly made trial of his swordsmen for seven days, till more than sixty of them were killed, or severely wounded. He then selected five or six men, and made them bring their swords and take their places beneath the hall, after which he called Chuang-tze, and said to him, "To-day I am going to make you and these men show what you can do with your swords." "I have long been looking for the opportunity," replied Chuang-tze. The king then asked him what would be the length of the sword which he would use; and he said, "Any length will suit me, but I have three swords, any one of which I will use, as may please your Majesty. Let me first tell you of them, and then go to the arena." "I should like to hear about the three swords," said the king; and Chuang-tze went on, "There is the sword of the Son of Heaven; the sword of a feudal prince; and the sword of a common man."

"What about the sword of the Son of Heaven?"

"This sword has Yen-chi [3] and Shih-chang [4] for its point; Chi and Mount Tai for its edge; Tsin and Wei for its back; Chau and Sung for its hilt; Han and Wei for its sheath. It is embraced by the wild tribes all around; it is wrapped up in the four seasons; it is bound round by the Sea of Po; [5] and its girdle is the enduring hills. It is regulated by the

[3] Some noted place in the State of Yen, the capital of which was near the site of the present Peking.

[4] A wall, north of Yen, built as a barrier of defense against the northern tribes.

[5] A region lying along the present gulf of Chih-li, between the Pei-ho and the Ching-ho in Shan-tung.

five elements; its wielding is by means of Punishments and Kindness; its unsheathing is like that of the Yin and Yang; it is held fast in the spring and summer; it is put in action in the autumn and winter. When it is thrust forward, there is nothing in front of it; when lifted up, there is nothing above it; when laid down, there is nothing below it; when wheeled round, there is nothing left on any side of it; above, it cleaves the floating clouds; and below, it penetrates to every division of the earth. Let this sword be once used, and the princes are all reformed, and the whole kingdom submits. This is the sword of the Son of Heaven." [6]

King Wan looked lost in amazement, and said again, "And what about the sword of a feudal lord?" Chuang-tze replied, "This sword has wise and brave officers for its point; pure and disinterested officers for its edge; able and honorable officers for its back; loyal and sage officers for its hilt; valiant and eminent officers for its sheath. When this sword is thrust directly forward, as in the former case, there is nothing in front of it; when directed upward, there is nothing above it; when laid down, there is nothing below it; when wheeled round, there is nothing on any side of it. Above, its law is taken from the round heaven, and is in accordance with the three luminaries; below, its law is taken from the square earth, and is in accordance with the four seasons; between, it is in harmony with the minds of the people, and in all the parts of the State there is peace. Let this sword be once used, and you seem to hear the crash of the thunder-peal. Within the four borders there are none who do not respectfully submit, and obey the orders of the ruler. This is the sword of the feudal lord."

"And what about the sword of the common man?" asked the king once more. Chuang-tze replied, "The sword of the common man is wielded by those who have their hair in a tangle, with whiskers projecting out; who wear slouching caps with coarse and unornamented tassels, and have their

[6] By this sword Chuang-tze evidently means the power of the sovereign, supported by the strength of the kingdom, and directed by good government.

coats cut short behind; who have staring eyes, and talk only about the hazards of their game. They hit at one another before you. Above, the sword slashes through the neck; and below, it scoops out the liver and lungs. This is the sword of the common man. The users of it are not different from fighting-cocks; any morning their lives are brought to an end; they are of no use in the affairs of the State. Your Majesty occupies the seat of the Son of Heaven, and that you should be so fond of the swordsmanship of such common men is unworthy, as I venture to think, of your Majesty."

On this the king drew Chuang-tze with him, and went up to the top of the hall, where the cook set forth a meal, which the king walked round three times, unable to sit down to it. Chuang-tze said to him, "Sit down quietly, great king, and calm yourself. I have said all I wished to say about swords." King Wan, thereafter, did not quit the palace for three months, and the swordsmen all killed themselves in their own rooms.[7]

Book XXXI

YU-FU, OR "THE OLD FISHERMAN"

Confucius, rambling in the forest of Tze-wei,[1] stopped and sat down by the Apricot altar. The disciples began to read

[7] Chuang-tze's parables had had their intended effect. It was not in his mind to do anything for the swordsmen. The commentators say: "Indignant at not being treated as they had been before, they all killed themselves."

[1] A forest or grove in the neighborhood of the capital of Lu. *Tze-wei* means "black silken curtains." Confucius, leaving the capital of Lu by the eastern gate, on passing the old Apricot altar, said, "This is the altar reared by Tsang Wan-chung to solemnize covenants." The picture which the Book raises before my mind is that of a forest, with a row or clump of apricot-trees, along which was a terrace, having on it the altar of Tsang Wan-chung, and with a lake or at least a stream near to it, to which the ground sloped down. Here the writer introduces us to the sage and some of his disciples, on one occasion, when they were attracted from their books and music by the appearance of the old fisherman. I visited in 1873, not far from the Confucian cemetery, a ruined building called "the College of Chu-Sze," which was pointed out as the site of the School of Confucius. The place would suit all the demands of the situation in this Book.

their books, while he proceeded to play on his lute, singing as he did so. He had not half finished his ditty when an old fisherman stepped down from his boat, and came toward them. His beard and eyebrows were turning white; his hair was all uncombed; and his sleeves hung idly down. He walked thus up from the bank, till he got to the dry ground, when he stopped, and, with his left hand holding one of his knees, and the right hand at his chin, listened. When the ditty was finished, he beckoned to Tze-kung and Tze-lu, who both responded and went to him. Pointing to Confucius, he said, "Who is he?" Tze-lu replied, "He is the Superior Man of Lu." "And of what family is he?" "He is of the Khung family." "And what is the occupation of this Mr. Khung?" To this question Tze-lu gave no reply, but Tze-kung replied, "This scion of the Khung family devotes himself in his own nature to leal-heartedness and sincerity; in his conduct he manifests benevolence and righteousness; he cultivates the ornaments of ceremonies and music; he pays special attention to the relationships of society; above, he would promote loyalty to the hereditary lords; below, he seeks the transformation of all classes of the people; his object being to benefit the kingdom: this is what Mr. Khung devotes himself to."

The stranger further asked, "Is he a ruler possessed of territory?" "No," was Tze-kung's reply. "Is he the assistant of any prince or king?" "No"; and on this the other began to laugh and to retrace his steps, saying as he went, "Yes, benevolence is benevolence! But I am afraid he will not escape the evils incident to humanity. By embittering his mind and toiling his body, he is imperiling his true nature! Alas! how far removed is he from the proper way of life!"

Tze-kung returned, and reported what the man had said to Confucius, who pushed his lute aside, and arose, saying, "Is he not a sage?" and down the slope he went in search of him. When he reached the edge of the lake, there was the fisherman with his pole, dragging the boat toward him. Turning round and seeing Confucius, he came back toward

him and stood up. Confucius then drew back, bowed to him twice, and went forward. "What do you want with me, Sir?" asked the stranger. The reply was, "A little while ago, my Master, you broke off the thread of your remarks and went away. Inferior to you, I do not know what you wished to say, and have ventured here to wait for your instructions, fortunate if I may but hear the sound of your words to complete the assistance that you can give me!" "Ah!" responded the stranger, "how great is your love of learning!"

Confucius bowed twice, and then rose up, and said, "Since I was young, I have cultivated learning till I am now sixty-nine years old; but I have not had an opportunity of hearing the perfect teaching; dare I but listen to you with a humble and unprejudiced mind?" The stranger replied, "Like seeks to like, and birds of the same note respond to one another — this is a rule of Heaven. Allow me to explain what I am in possession of, and to pass over from its standpoint to the things which occupy you. What you occupy yourself with are the affairs of men. When the sovereign, the feudal lords, the great officers, and the common people, these four classes, do what is correct in their several positions, we have the beauty of good order; and when they leave their proper duties, there ensues the greatest disorder. When the officials attend to their duties, and the common people are anxiously concerned about their business, there is no encroachment on one another's rights.

"Fields running to waste; leaking rooms; insufficiency of food and clothing; taxes unprovided for; want of harmony among wives and concubines; and want of order between old and young — these are the troubles of the common people.

"Incompetency for their charges; inattention to their official business; want of probity in conduct; carelessness and idleness in subordinates; failure of merit and excellence; and uncertainty of rank and emolument — these are the troubles of great officers.

"No loyal ministers at their courts; the clans in their States rebellious; want of skill in their mechanics; articles

of tribute of bad quality; late appearances at court in spring and autumn; and the dissatisfaction of the sovereign — these are the troubles of the feudal lords.

"Want of harmony between the Yin and Yang; unseasonableness of cold and heat, affecting all things injuriously; oppression and disorder among the feudal princes, their presuming to plunder and attack one another, to the injury of the people; ceremonies and music ill-regulated; the resources for expenditure exhausted or deficient; the social relationships uncared for; and the people abandoned to licentious disorder — these are the troubles of the Son of Heaven and his ministers.

"Now, Sir, you have not the high rank of a ruler, a feudal lord, or a minister of the royal court, nor are you in the inferior position of a great minister, with his departments of business, and yet you take it on you to regulate ceremonies and music, and to give special attention to the relationships of society, with a view to transform the various classes of the people — is it not an excessive multiplication of your business?

"And, moreover, men are liable to eight defects, and the conduct of affairs to four evils; of which we must by all means take account.

"To take the management of affairs which do not concern him is called 'monopolizing.' To bring forward a subject which no one regards is called 'loquacity.' To lead men on by speeches made to please them is called 'sycophancy.' To praise men without regard to right or wrong is called 'flattery.' To be fond of speaking of men's wickedness is called 'calumny.' To part friends and separate relatives is called 'mischievousness.' To praise a man deceitfully, or in the same way fix on him the character of being bad, is called 'depravity.' Without reference to their being good or bad, to agree with men with double face, in order to steal a knowledge of what they wish, is called 'being dangerous.' Those eight defects produce disorder among other men and injury to one's self. A superior man will not make a friend of one

who has them, nor will an intelligent ruler make him his minister.

"To speak of what I called the four evils: To be fond of conducting great affairs, changing and altering what is of long standing, to obtain for one's self the reputation of meritorious service, is called 'ambition'; to claim all wisdom and intrude into affairs, encroaching on the work of others, and representing it as one's own, is called 'greediness'; to see his errors without changing them, and to go on more resolutely in his own way when remonstrated with, is called 'obstinacy'; when another agrees with himself, to approve of him, and, however good he may be, when he disagrees, to disapprove of him, is called 'boastful conceit.' These are the four evils. When one can put away the eight defects, and allow no course to the four evils, he begins to be capable of being taught."

Confucius looked sorrowful and sighed. Again he bowed twice, and then rose up and said, "I was twice driven from Lu. I had to flee from Wei; the tree under which I rested was cut down in Sung; I was kept in a state of siege between Chan and Tshai. I do not know what errors I had committed that I came to be misrepresented on these four occasions and suffered as I did." The stranger looked grieved at these words, changed countenance, and said, "Very difficult it is, Sir, to make you understand. There was a man who was frightened at his shadow and disliked to see his footsteps, so that he ran to escape from them. But the more frequently he lifted his feet, the more numerous his footprints were; and however fast he ran, his shadow did not leave him. He thought he was going too slow, and ran on with all his speed without stopping, till his strength was exhausted and he died. He did not know that, if he had stayed in a shady place, his shadow would have disappeared, and that if he had remained still, he would have lost his footprints — his stupidity was excessive! And you, Sir, exercise your judgment on the questions about benevolence and righteousness; you investigate the points where agreement

and difference touch; you look at the changes from movement to rest and from rest to movement; you have mastered the rules of receiving and giving; you have defined the feelings of liking and disliking; you have harmonized the limits of joy and anger — and yet you have hardly been able to escape the troubles of which you speak. If you earnestly cultivated your own person, and carefully guarded your proper truth, simply rendering to others what was due to them, then you would have escaped such entanglements. But now, when you do not cultivate your own person, and make the cultivation of others your object, are you not occupying yourself with what is external?"

Confucius with an air of sadness said, "Allow me to ask what it is that you call my proper Truth." The stranger replied, "A man's proper Truth is pure sincerity in its highest degree; without this pure sincerity one can not move others. Hence if one only forces himself to wail, however sadly he may do so, it is not real sorrow; if he forces himself to be angry, however he may seem to be severe, he excites no awe; if he forces himself to show affection, however he may smile, he awakens no harmonious reciprocation. True grief, without a sound, is yet sorrowful; true anger, without any demonstration, yet awakens awe; true affection, without a smile, yet produces a harmonious reciprocation. Given this truth within, it exercises a spiritual efficacy without, and this is why we count it so valuable. In our relations with others, it appears according to the requirements of each case: in the service of parents, as gentle, filial duty; in the service of rulers, as loyalty and integrity; in festive drinking, as pleasant enjoyment; in the performance of the mourning-rites, as sadness and sorrow. In loyalty and integrity, good service is the principal thing; in festive drinking, the enjoyment; in the mourning-rites, the sorrow; in the service of parents, the giving them pleasure. The beauty of the service rendered to a ruler does not require that it always be performed in one way; the service of parents so as to give them pleasure takes no account of how it is done; the festive drinking which ministers enjoyment does not depend on the appliances for

it; the observance of the mourning-rites with the proper sorrow asks no questions about the rites themselves. Rites are prescribed for the practise of the common people; man's proper Truth is what he has received from Heaven, operating spontaneously, and unchangeable. Therefore the sages take their law from Heaven, and prize their proper Truth, without submitting to the restrictions of custom. The stupid do the reverse of this. They are unable to take their law from Heaven, and are influenced by other men; they do not know how to prize the proper Truth of their nature, but are under the dominion of ordinary things, and change according to the customs around them — always, consequently, incomplete. Alas for you, Sir, that you were early steeped in the hypocrisies of men, and have been so late in hearing about the Great Way!"

Once more, Confucius bowed twice to the fisherman, then rose again, and said, "That I have met you to-day is as if I had the happiness of getting to heaven. If you, Master, are not ashamed, but will let me be as your servant, and continue to teach me, let me venture to ask where your dwelling is. I will then beg to receive your instructions there, and finish my learning of the Great Way." The stranger replied, "I have heard the saying, 'If it be one with whom you can walk together, go with him to the subtlest mysteries of the Tao. If it be one with whom you can not walk together and he do not know the Tao, take care that you do not associate with him, and you will yourself incur no responsibility.' Do your utmost, Sir. I must leave you — I must leave you!" With this he shoved off his boat, and went away among the green reeds.

Yen Yuan now returned to the carriage, where Tze-lu handed to him the strap; but Confucius did not look round, continuing where he was, till the wavelets were stilled, and he did not hear the sound of the pole, when at last he ventured to return and take his seat. Tze-lu, by his side in the carriage, asked him, saying, "I have been your servant for a long time, but I have never seen you, Master, treat another with the awe and reverence which you have now shown. I

have seen you in the presence of a Lord of ten thousand chariots or a Ruler of a thousand, and they have never received you in a different audience-room, or treated you but with the courtesies due to an equal, while you have still carried yourself with a reserved and haughty air; but to-day this old fisherman has stood erect in front of you with his pole in his hand, while you, bent from your loins in the form of a sounding-stone, would bow twice before you answered him; was not your reverence of him excessive? Your disciples will all think it strange in you, Master. Why did the old fisherman receive such homage from you?"

Confucius leaned forward on the cross-bar of the carriage, heaved a sigh, and said, "Difficult indeed is it to change you, O Yu! You have been trained in propriety and righteousness for long, and yet your servile and mean heart has not been taken from you. Come nearer, that I may speak fully to you. If you meet one older than yourself, and do not show him respect, you fail in propriety. If you see a man of superior wisdom and goodness, and do not honor him, you want the great characteristic of humanity. If that fisherman did not possess it in the highest degree, how could he make others submit to him? And if their submission to him be not sincere, they do not attain to the truth of their nature, and inflict a lasting injury on their persons. Alas! there is no greater calamity to man than the want of this characteristic; and you, O Yu, you alone, would take such want on yourself.

"Moreover, the Tao is the course by which all things should proceed. For things to fail in this is death; to observe it is life. To oppose it in practise is ruin; to conform it is success. Therefore wherever the sagely man finds the Tao, he honors it. And that old fisherman to-day might be said to possess it; dared I presume not to show him reverence?"

END OF THE DOUBTFUL BOOKS OF CHUANG-TZE

TAOISM

THE POPULAR TAOIST TEXTS

"When Heaven seems to be most wrapt up in Itself, Its operation is universal in its character."

— THE YIN FU.

THE POPULAR TAOIST TEXTS

(INTRODUCTION)

OF the Yin Fu King, which opens this section of our volume, we have already spoken. The popular Taoist tradition ascribes it to that most ancient emperor Hwang-Ti, the great civilizer, the organizer of the first Chinese kingdom in 2697 B.C. Sometimes it is even carried back of Hwang-Ti and attributed to his mythical twelve-centuries-old teacher, Kwang Chang-Tze. Legend would thus set the Yin Fu as being the oldest book of China, excepting perhaps the original Yi King. There is, however, no question but that the present Yin Fu is a comparatively modern work, though there may once have been an original Yin Fu of very ancient date, from which this took its name. The old Yin Fu was said to have been once hidden away in a cave to save it from destruction. There it was wholly lost, but was rediscovered about A.D. 800. No one could then read it, until a mysterious old woman suddenly appeared, explained it fully and clearly, and disappeared again. It is this Yin Fu which we now possess. It is obscure in spots, but its style and manner harmonize far better with A.D. 800 than they do with anything we could conceive as emanating from the antiquity of Hwang-Ti.

As to the name of the little book, *Yin* means "the unseen or immaterial world"; *Fu* is a "balancing or agreement"; *King* means a "classic book." So this is the classic which balances or harmonizes the unseen with the seen, explaining each by the other.

The verses that hold the next place here gain their importance from their direct connection with the "Venerable Philosopher" Lao-Tze. He was deified in the year A.D. 666 by a Chinese emperor, who conferred on him the title of Thai-Shang Lao Chun, or Great God and Mysterious Originator. In his temple, which had probably existed at his

birth-place from a much earlier date, there was thereupon erected an inscription telling how the honor was conferred and concluding with the poetic ode here given. It is in a way, a Taoist account — as far as Taoism ever accounts for anything — of the Creation.

Our final Taoist book is the "Thai-Shang" or "god-book" itself. Its full title is "Thai-Shang Kan Ying Phien," which might be translated "the God Lao-Tze's Tractate on the Kan Ying," in which *Kan Ying* means "Actions and their Reactions." This is the most popular of all Taoist books. It is accepted by the ignorant as the actual voice of a god. The Rev. Mr. Wylie says of it, "The various editions of it are innumerable; it has appeared from time to time in almost every conceivable size, shape, and style of execution. Many commentaries have been written upon it, and it is frequently published with a collection of several hundred anecdotes, along with pictorial illustrations, to illustrate every paragraph *seriatim*. It is deemed a great act of merit to aid by voluntary contribution toward the gratuitous distribution of this work."

The Thai-Shang was probably written about A.D. 1000. So that it represents what is for China a very modern book, what we might call an up-to-date manual of Taoism.

THE SAGES OF CHINA.

A Japanese painting of a group of unknown Chinese philosophic teachers and writers.



YIN FU KING

OR

CLASSIC OF THE HARMONY OF THE SEEN AND UNSEEN

CHAPTER I

1. If one observes the Way of Heaven,[1] and maintains Its doings as his own,[2] all that he has to do is accomplished.

2. To Heaven there belong the five mutual foes,[3] and he who sees them and understands their operation apprehends how they produce prosperity. The same five foes are in the mind of man, and when he can set them in action after the manner of Heaven, all space and time are at his disposal, and all things receive their transformations from his person.[4]

3. The nature of Heaven belongs also to Man; the mind of Man is a spring of power. When the Way of Heaven is established, the Course of Man is thereby determined.

[1] To explain "the Way of Heaven," Li Hsi-yueh adduces the last sentence of the "Tao-Teh King," chapter IX, "When the work is done, and one's name has become distinguished, to withdraw into obscurity is the Way of Heaven."

[2] To explain "the doings of Heaven," he adduces the first paragraph of the symbolism of the first hexagram of the Yi, "Heaven in its motion gives the idea of strength. In accordance with this, the superior man nerves himself to ceaseless activity."

[3] The startling name "thieves" (foes, robbers) here is understood to mean the "five elements," which pervade and indeed make up the whole realm of nature, the heaven of the text including also earth, the other term in the binomial combination of "heaven and earth." According to the Taoist teaching, the element of Earth generates Metal, and overcomes Water; Metal generates Water, and overcomes Wood; Water generates Wood, and overcomes Fire; Wood generates Fire, and overcomes Earth. These elements fight and strive together, now overcoming, now overcome, till by such interaction a harmony of their influences arises, and production goes on with vigor and beauty.

[4] It is more difficult to give an account of the operation of the five elements in the mind of man, though I have seen them distributed among the five viscera, and the five virtues of Benevolence, Righteousness, Propriety, Knowledge, and Faith.

4. When Heaven puts forth its power of putting to death, the stars and constellations lie hidden in darkness. When Earth puts forth its power of putting to death, dragons and serpents appear on the dry ground. When Man puts forth his power of putting to death,[5] Heaven and Earth resume their proper course. When Heaven and Man exert their powers in concert, all transformations have their commencements determined.

5. The nature of man is here clever and there stupid; and the one of these qualities may lie hidden in the other. The abuse of the nine apertures is chiefly in the three most important, which may be now in movement and now at rest. When fire arises in wood, the evil, having once begun, is sure to go on to the destruction of the wood. When calamity arises in a State, if thereafter movement ensue, it is sure to go to ruin.

When one conducts the work of culture and refining wisely we call him a Sage.

CHAPTER II

1. For Heaven now to give life and now to take it away is the method of the Tao. Heaven and Earth are the despoilers of all things; all things are the despoilers of Man; and Man is the despoiler of all things. When the three despoilers act as they ought to do, as the three Powers, they are at rest. Hence it is said, "During the time of nourishment, all the members are properly regulated; when the springs of motion come into play, all transformations quietly take place."[6]

2. Men know the mysteriousness of the Spirit's action, but they do not know how what is not Spiritual comes to be so. The sun and moon have their definite times, and their exact

[5] "The power of putting to death" here seems merely to indicate the "rest" which succeeds to movement. The paragraph is intended to show us the harmony of the Three Powers, but one only sees its meaning darkly. The language of the third sentence about the influence of Man on Heaven and Earth finds its explanation from the phraseology of the *thwan* of the twenty-fourth hexagram of the Yi.

[6] Where the concluding quotation is taken from is not known. Of course any quotation is inconsistent with the idea of the early origin of the treatise.

measures as large and small. The service of the sages hereupon arises, and the spiritual intelligence becomes apparent.

3. The spring by which the despoilers are moved is invisible and unknown to all under the sky. When the superior man has got it, he strengthens his body by it; when the small man has got it, he makes light of his life.

CHAPTER III

1. The blind hear well, and the deaf see well. To derive all that is advantageous from one source is ten times better than the employment of a host; to do this thrice in a day and night is a myriad times better.

2. The mind is quickened to activity by external things, and dies through excessive pursuit of them. The spring of the mind's activity is in the eyes.

Heaven has no special feeling of kindness, but so it is that the greatest kindness comes from It. The crash of thunder and the blustering wind both come without design.

3. Perfect enjoyment is the overflowing satisfaction of the nature. Perfect stillness is the entire disinterestedness of it. When Heaven seems to be most wrapt up in Itself, Its operation is universal in its character.

4. It is by its breath that we control whatever creature we grasp.[7] Life is the root of death, and death is the root of life. Kindness springs from injury, and injury springs from kindness. He who sinks himself in water or enters amidst fire brings destruction on himself.

5. The stupid man by studying the phenomena and laws of heaven and earth becomes sage; I by studying their times

[7] The first sentence of this paragraph is very difficult to construe. Mr. Balfour gives for it: "The Laws affecting the animal creation reside in the Breath or Vital Fluid." The first character of it properly denotes "birds." It is often found with another denoting "quadrupeds"; and again it is found alone denoting both birds and beasts. It is also interchanged with another of the same name, denoting "to seize or grasp," in which meaning I have taken it; but the bearing of the saying on the general meaning of the treatise I have not apprehended.

The next four sayings are illustrations of Lao-Tze's "contraries" of Taoism. The final saying is a truism; is it introduced here as illustrating that whatever is done with design is contrary to the Tao?

and productions become intelligent. He in his stupidity is perplexed about sageness; I in my freedom from stupidity am the same. He considers his sageness as being an extraordinary attainment; I do not consider mine so.[8]

6. The method of spontaneity proceeds in stillness, and so it was that heaven, earth, and all things were produced. The method of heaven and earth proceeds gently and gradually, and thus it is that the Yin and Yang overcome each other by turns. The one takes the place of the other, and so change and transformation proceed accordingly.

7. Therefore the sages, knowing that the method of spontaneity can not be resisted, take action accordingly and regulate it for the purpose of culture. The way of perfect stillness can not be subjected to numerical calculations; but it would seem that there is a wonderful machinery, by which all the heavenly bodies are produced, the eight diagrams, and the sexagenary cycle; spirit-like springs of power, and hidden ghostliness; the arts of the Yin and Yang in the victories of the one over the other: all these come brightly forward into visibility.[9]

[8] Some scholars have expunged this paragraph as not being genuine; it is certainly difficult to construe and to understand.

[9] I can not say that I fully understand this concluding paragraph of the Yin Fu King. One thing is plain from it — how the Yi King was pressed into the service of the Taoism that prevailed when it was written. I leave it with the judgment on it, quoted by Li Hsi-yueh from a Lu Tshien-hsu. "The subject-matter of the Yin Fu and Tao-Teh is all intended to set forth the action by contraries of the despoiling powers in nature and society. As to finding in them directions for the government of States, the conduct of war, and the mastery of the kingdom, with such expressions as those about a wonderful machinery by which the heavenly bodies are produced, the eight diagrams, the cycle, spirit-like springs, and hidden ghostlinesses — they all have a deep meaning, but men do not know it. They who go to the Yin Fu for direction in war and use Lao-Tze for guidance in government go far astray from the meaning of both."

LAO-TZE

(INSCRIBED IN THE TEMPLE AT LAO-TZE'S BIRTHPLACE)

1.

Back in the depths of ancient time;
Remote, before the Tis began;
Four equal sides defined the earth,
And pillars eight the heaven sustained.
All living things in classes came,
The valleys wide, and mighty streams.
The Perfect Tao, with movement wise,
Unseen, Its work did naturally.

2.

Its power the elements all felt;
The incipient germs of things appeared.
Shepherd and Lord established were,
And in their hands the ivory bonds.[1]
The Tis must blush before the Hwangs;[2]
The Wangs must blush before the Tis.[2]
More distant grew Tao's highest gifts,
And simple ways more rare became.

3.

The still placidity was gone,
And all the old harmonious ways.
Men talents prized, and varnished wit;
The laws displayed proved but a net.
Wine-cups and stands the board adorned,

1 "Bonds" with written characters on them superseded the "knotted cords" of the primitive age. That the material of the bonds should be, as here represented, slips of ivory, would seem to anticipate the progress of society.

2 The Hwangs preceded the Tis in the Taoistic genesis of history; and as being more simple were Taoistically superior to them; so it was with the Tis and the Wangs or Kings.

And shields and spears the country filled.
The close-meshed nets the fishes scared:
And numerous bows the birds alarmed.

4.

Then did the True Man [3] get his birth,
As 'neath the Bear the star shone down.
All dragon gifts his person graced;
Like the stork's plumage was his hair.
The complicated he resolved, the sharp made blunt,
The mean rejected, and the generous chose;
In brightness like the sun and moon,
And lasting as the heaven and earth.

5.

Small to him seemed the mountains five,
And narrow seemed the regions nine;
About he went with lofty tread,
And in short time he rambled far.
In carriage by black oxen drawn,[4]
Around the purple air was bright.
Grottoes then oped to him their somber gates,
And thence, unseen, his spirit power flowed forth.

6.

The village near the stream of Ko
Traces of him will still retain; [5]
But now, as in the days of old,
With changèd times the world is changed.
His stately temple fell to ruin;
His altar empty was and still;
By the nine wells dryandras grew,[6]
And the twin tablets were but heaps of stone.

[3] This of course was Lao-Tze.

[4] So it was, according to the story, that Lao-Tze drew near to the barrier gate, when he wished to leave China.

[5] The Ko is a river flowing from Ho-nan into An-hui, and falling into the Hwai, not far from the district city of Hwai-yuan.

[6] The nine wells, or bubbling springs, near the village where Lao was born, are mentioned by various writers; but I fail to see how the growth of the trees about them indicated the ruin of his temple.

7.

But when our emperor was called to rule,
All spirit-like and sage was he.
Earth's bells reverberated loud,
And light fell on the heavenly mirror down.
The universe in brightness shone,
And portents all were swept away;
All souls, or bright or dark, revered,
And spirits came to take from him their law.

8.

From desert sands [7] and where the great trees grow,
From phœnix caves, and from the dragon woods,
All different creatures came sincere;
Men of all regions gave their hearts to him.
Their largest vessels brought their gifts,
And kings their rarest things described;
Black clouds a thousand notes set forth;
And in the fragrant winds were citherns heard.

9.

Through his transforming power, the tripods were made sure;
And families became polite and courteous.
Ever kept he in mind the sage beneath the Pillar,[8]
Still emulous of the sovereigns most ancient.
So has he built this pure temple,
And planned its stately structure;
Pleasant, with hills and meadows around,
And lofty pavilion with its distant prospect.

10.

Its beams are of plum-tree, its ridge-pole of cassia;
A balustrade winds round it; many are its pillars;
About them spreads and rolls the fragrant smoke; [9]

[7] The "desert sands" were, no doubt, what we call "the desert of Gobi." The trees referred to were "in the extreme East."

[8] "The sage beneath the Pillar" must be Lao-Tze.

[9] "The smoke," I suppose, "of the incense, and from the offerings."

Cool and pure are the breezes and mists.
The Immortal officers come to their places; [10]
The Plumaged guests are found in its court,[10]
Numerous and at their ease,
They send down blessing, bright and efficacious.

11.

Most spirit-like, unfathomable,
Tao's principles abide, with their symbolism attached.[11]
Loud is Its note, but never sound emits,
Yet always it awakes the highest echoes.
From far and near men praise It;
In the shades, and in the realms of light, they look up for Its aid;
Reverently have we graven and gilt this stone
And made our lasting proclamation thereby to heaven and earth.

[10] Taoist monks are called "Plumaged or Feathered Scholars," from the idea that by their discipline and pills they can emancipate themselves from the trammels of the material body, and ascend (fly up) to heaven. Arrived there, as Immortals or *Hsien*, it further appears they were constituted into a hierarchy or society, of which some of them were "officers," higher in rank than others.

[11] An allusion to the text of the hexagrams of the Yi King, where the explanations of them by King Wan — his *thwan*, are followed by the symbolism of their different lines by the duke of Chau — his *hsiang*.

THAI-SHANG KAN YING PHIEN

OR

LAO-TZE'S BOOK OF ACTIONS AND THEIR RETRIBUTION [1]

1. The Thai-Shang says, "There are no special doors for calamity and happiness in men's lot; they come as men themselves call them. Their recompenses follow good and evil as the shadow follows the substance.[2]

2. "Accordingly, in heaven and earth [3] there are spirits that take account of men's transgressions, and, according to the lightness or gravity of their offenses, take away from their term of life.[4] When that term is curtailed, men become poor and reduced, and meet with many sorrows and afflictions. All other men hate them; punishments and calamities attend them; good luck and occasions for felicitation shun them; evil stars send down misfortunes on them.[5] When their term of life is exhausted they die.

"There also are the Spirit-rulers in the three pairs of the Thai stars of the Northern Bushel [6] over men's heads, which record their acts of guilt and wickedness, and take away

[1] Thai-Shang is an honorary title conferred on Lao-Tze when he was declared a god.

[2] This paragraph, after the first three characters, is found in the Tso Chuan in the twenty-third year of Duke Hsiang (549 B.C.) — part of an address to a young nobleman by the officer Min Tze-ma. The only difference in the two texts is in one character which does not affect the meaning. Thus the text of this Taoist treatise is taken from a source which can not be regarded as Taoistic.

[3] This seems equivalent to "all through space."

[4] The *swan* in the text here seems to mean "the whole of the allotted term of life." Further on, the same character has the special meaning of "a period of a hundred days."

[5] This and other passages show how Taoism pressed astrology into its service.

[6] The Northern Peck or Bushel is the Chinese name of our constellation of the Great Bear, "the Chariot of the Supreme Ruler." The three pairs of stars are called the upper, middle, and lower *Thai*, or "their three Eminences."

from their term of life periods of twelve years or of a hundred days.

"There also are the three Spirits of the recumbent body which reside within a man's person.[7] As each *kang-shan*[8] day comes round, they forthwith ascend to the court of Heaven, and report men's deeds of guilt and transgression. On the last day of the moon, the spirit of the Hearth does the same.

"In the case of every man's transgressions, when they are great, twelve years are taken from his term of life; when they are small, a hundred days.

"Transgressions, great and small, are seen in several hundred things. He who wishes to seek for long life[9] must first avoid these.

3. "Is his way right, he should go forward in it; is it wrong, he should withdraw from it.

"He will not tread in devious byways; he will not impose on himself in any secret apartment. He will amass virtue and accumulate deeds of merit. He will feel kindly toward all creatures.[10] He will be loyal, filial, loving to his younger brothers, and submissive to his elder. He will make himself correct and so transform others. He will pity orphans, and compassionate widows; he will respect the old and cherish the young. Even the insect tribes, grass, and trees he should not hurt.

"He ought to pity the malignant tendencies of others; to rejoice over their excellences; to help them in their straits; to rescue them from their perils; to regard their gains as if they were his own, and their losses in the same way; not to publish their shortcomings; not to vaunt his own superiorities; to put a stop to what is evil, and exalt and display what is good; to yield much, and take little for himself; to

[7] The Khang-hsi Dictionary simply explains *san shih* as "the name of a spirit"; but the phrase is evidently plural. The names and places of the three spirits are given, and given differently.

[8] *Kang-shan* is the name of the fifty-seventh term of the cycle, indicating every fifty-seventh day, or year. Here it indicates the day.

[9] Long life is still the great quest of the Taoist.

[10] In its widest meaning: Men, creatures, and all living things.

receive insult without resenting it, and honor with an appearance of apprehension; to bestow favors without seeking for a return, and give to others without any subsequent regret — this is what is called a good man. All other men respect him; Heaven in its course protects him; happiness and emolument follow him; all evil things keep far from him; the spiritual Intelligences defend him; what he does is sure to succeed;[11] he may hope to become Immaterial and Immortal.[12] He who would seek to become an Immortal of Heaven[12] ought to give the proof of 1300 good deeds; and he who would seek to become an Immortal of Earth[12] should give the proof of three hundred.

4. "But if the movements of a man's heart are contrary to righteousness, and the actions of his conduct are in opposition to reason; if he regard his wickedness as a proof of his ability, and can bear to do what is cruel and injurious; if he secretly harms the honest and good; if he treats with clandestine slight his ruler or parents; if he is disrespectful to his elders and teachers; if he disregards the authority of those whom he should serve; if he deceives the simple; if he calumniates his fellow learners; if he vent baseless slanders, practise deception and hypocrisy, and attack and expose his kindred by consanguinity and affinity; if he is hard, violent, and without humanity; if he is ruthlessly cruel in taking his own way; if his judgments of right and wrong are incorrect; and his likings and aversions are in despite of what is

[11] Here are the happy issues of doing good in addition to long life; compare the "Tao-Teh King," chapter L.

[12] Here there appears the influence of Buddhism on the doctrine of the Tao. The *Rishis* of Buddhism are denoted in Chinese by *Hsien Tsan*, which, for want of a better term, we translate by "Immortals." The famous Nagarguna, the fourteenth Buddhist patriarch, counts ten classes of these *Rishis*, and ascribes to them only a temporary exemption for a million years from transmigration, but Chinese Buddhists and Taoists view them as absolutely immortal, and distinguish five classes: first, Deva *Rishis*, or Heavenly *Hsien*, residing on the seven concentric rocks round Meru; second, *Purusha*, or Spirit-like *Hsien*, roaming through the air; third, *Nara*, or Human *Hsien*, dwelling among men; fourth, *Bhumi*, or Earth *Hsien*, residing on earth in caves; and fifth, *Preta*, or Demon *Hsien*, roving demons. In this place three out of the five classes are specified, each having its own price in good deeds.

proper; if he oppresses inferiors, and claims merit for doing so; courts superiors by gratifying their evil desires; receives favors without feeling grateful for them; broods over resentments without ceasing; if he slights and makes no account of Heaven's people;[13] if he trouble and throw into disorder the government of the State; bestows rewards on the unrighteous and inflicts punishments on the guiltless; kills men in order to get wealth, and overthrows men to get their offices; slays those who have surrendered, and massacres those who have made their submission; throws censure on the upright, and overthrows the worthy; maltreats the orphan and oppresses the widow; if he casts the laws aside and receives bribes; holds the right to be wrong and the wrong to be right; enters light offenses as heavy; and the sight of an execution makes him more enraged with the criminal; if he knows his faults and does not change them, or knows what is good and does not do it; throws the guilt of his crimes on others; if he tries to hinder the exercise of an art for a living; reviles and slanders the sage and worthy; and assails and oppresses the principles of reason and virtue; if he shoots birds and hunts beasts, unearths the burrowing insects and frightens roosting birds, blocks up the dens of animals and overturns nests, hurts the pregnant womb and breaks eggs; if he wishes others to have misfortunes and losses; and defames the merit achieved by others; if he imperils others to secure his own safety; diminishes the property of others to increase his own; exchanges bad things for good; and sacrifices the public weal to his private advantage; if he takes credit to himself for the ability of others; conceals the excellences of others; publishes the things discreditable to others; and searches out the private affairs of others; leads others to waste their property and wealth; and causes the separation of near relatives;[14] encroaches on what others love; and assists others in doing wrong; gives the reins to his will and puts on airs of majesty; puts others to shame in seeking victory for him-

[13] A Confucian phrase.

[14] Literally, "separates men's bones and flesh."

self; injures or destroys the growing crops of others; and breaks up projected marriages; if becoming rich by improper means makes him proud; and by a peradventure escaping the consequences of his misconduct, he yet feels no shame; if he owns to favors which he did not confer, and puts off his errors on others; marries away his own calamity to another, and sells for gain his own wickedness; purchases for himself empty praise; and keeps hidden dangerous purposes in his heart; detracts from the excellences of others, and screens his own shortcomings; if he takes advantage of his dignity to practise intimidation, and indulges his cruelty to kill and wound; if without cause he wastes cloth in clipping and shaping it; cooks animals for food, when no rites require it; scatters and throws away the five grains; and burdens and vexes all living creatures; if he ruins the families of others, and gets possession of their money and valuables; admits the water or raises fire in order to injure their dwellings; if he throws into confusion the established rules in order to defeat the services of others; and injures the implements of others to deprive them of the things they require to use; if, seeing others in glory and honor, he wishes them to be banished or degraded; or seeing them wealthy and prosperous, he wishes them to be broken and scattered; if he sees a beautiful woman and forms the thought of illicit intercourse with her; is indebted to men for goods or money, and wishes them to die; if, when his requests and applications are not complied with, his anger vents itself in imprecations; if he sees others meeting with misfortune, and begins to speak of their misdeeds; or seeing them with bodily imperfections he laughs at them; or when their abilities are worthy of praise, he endeavors to keep them back; if he buries the image of another to obtain an injurious power over him;[15] or employs poison to kill trees; if he is indignant and angry with his instructors; or opposes and thwarts his father and elder brother; if he takes things by violence or vehemently demands them; if he loves

15 The crimes indicated here are said to have become rife under the Han Dynasty, when the arts of sorcery and witchcraft were largely employed to the injury of men.

secretly to pilfer, and openly to snatch; makes himself rich by plunder and rapine; or by artifice and deceit seeks for promotion; if he rewards and punishes unfairly; if he indulges in idleness and pleasure to excess; is exacting and oppressive to his inferiors; and tries to frighten other men; if he murmurs against Heaven and finds fault with men; reproaches the wind and reviles the rain; if he fights and joins in quarrels; strives and raises litigations; recklessly hurries to join associate fraternities; is led by the words of his wife or concubine to disobey the instructions of his parents; if, on getting what is new, he forgets the old; and agrees with his mouth while he dissents in his heart; if he is covetous and greedy after wealth, and deceives and befools his superiors to get it; if he invents wicked speeches to calumniate and overthrow the innocent; defames others and calls it being straightforward; reviles the Spirits and styles himself correct; if he casts aside what is according to right, and imitates what is against it; turns his back on his near relatives, and his face to those who are distant; if he appeals to Heaven and Earth to witness to the mean thoughts of his mind; or calls in the spiritual Intelligence to mark the filthy affairs of his life; if he gives and afterward repents that he has done so; or borrows and does not return; if he plans and seeks for what is beyond his lot; or lays tasks on people beyond their strength; if he indulges his lustful desires without measure; if there be poison in his heart and mildness in his face; if he gives others filthy food to eat; or by corrupt doctrines deludes the multitude; if he uses a short cubit, a narrow measure, light weights, and a small pint; mixes spurious articles with the genuine; and thus amasses illicit gain; if he degrades children or others of decent condition to mean positions; or deceives and ensnares simple people; if he is insatiably covetous and greedy; tries by oaths and imprecations to prove himself correct; and in his liking for drink is rude and disorderly; if he quarrels angrily with his nearest relatives; and as a man he is not loyal and honorable; if a woman is not gentle and obedient; if the husband is not harmonious with his wife; if the wife does not reverence

her husband; if he is always fond of boasting and bragging; if she is constantly jealous and envious; if he is guilty of improper conduct to his wife or sons; if she fails to behave properly to her parents-in-law; if he treats with slight and disrespect the spirits of his ancestors; if he opposes and rebels against the charge of his sovereign; if he occupies himself in doing what is of no use; and cherishes and keeps concealed a purpose other than what appears; if he utter imprecations against himself and against others in the assertion of his innocence; or is partial in his likes and dislikes; if he strides over the well or the hearth; leaps over the food, or over a man;[16] kills newly born children or brings about abortions;[16] if he does many actions of secret depravity; if he sings and dances on the last day of the moon or of the year; bawls out or gets angry on the first day of the moon or in the early dawn; weeps, spits, or urinates, when fronting the north; sighs, sings, or wails, when fronting the fireplace; and moreover, if he takes fire from the hearth to burn incense; or uses dirty firewood to cook with; if he rises at night and shows his person naked; if at the eight terms of the year[17] he inflicts punishments; if he spits at a shooting star; points at a rainbow; suddenly points to the three luminaries; looks long at the sun and moon; in the months of spring burns the thickets in hunting; with his face to the north angrily reviles others; and without reason kills tortoises and smites snakes: —

"In the case of crimes such as these, the Spirits presiding over the Life, according to their lightness or gravity, take away the culprit's periods of twelve years or of one hundred days. When his term of life is exhausted, death ensues. If at death there remains guilt unpunished, judgment extends to his posterity.[18]

[16] Trifling acts and villainous crimes are here mixed together.

[17] The commencements of the four seasons, the equinoxes and solstices.

[18] The principle enunciated here is very ancient in the history of the ethical teaching of China. It appears in one of the Appendixes to the Yi King: "The family that accumulates goodness is sure to have superabundant happiness; the family that accumulates evil is sure to have superabundant misery." We know also that the same view pre-

5. "Moreover, when parties by wrong and violence take the money of others, an account is taken, and set against its amount, of their wives and children, and all the members of their families, when these gradually die. If they do not die, there are the disasters from water, fire, thieves, and robbers, from losses of property, illnesses, and evil tongues to balance the value of their wicked appropriations. Further, those who wrongfully kill men are only putting their weapons into the hands of others who will in their turn kill them.

"To take to one's self unrighteous wealth is like satisfying one's hunger with putrid food, or one's thirst with poisoned wine. It gives a temporary relief, indeed, but death also follows it.

"Now when the thought of doing good has arisen in a man's mind, though the good be not yet done, the good Spirits are in attendance on him. Or, if the thought of doing evil has arisen, though the evil be not yet done, the bad Spirits are in attendance on him.

"If one have, indeed, done deeds of wickedness, but afterward alters his way and repents, resolved not to do anything wicked, but to practise reverently all that is good, he is sure in the long run to obtain good fortune: this is called changing calamity into blessing. Therefore the good man speaks what is good, contemplates what is good, and does what is good; every day he has these three virtues: at the end of three years Heaven is sure to send down blessing on him. The bad man speaks what is wicked, contemplates what is wicked, and does what is wicked; every day he has these three vices: at the end of three years Heaven is sure to send down misery on him.— How is it that men will not exert themselves to do what is good?"

vailed in the time of Confucius, though the sage himself does not expressly sanction it.

MODERN CONFUCIANISM

MENCIUS

"The people are the most important element in a nation."
— MENCIUS.

MENCIUS

(INTRODUCTION)

MENCIUS, or Mang, is, as we have already noted, the true founder of official Confucianism. He was born in 371 B.C. and died in 288 B.C. He early became an enthusiastic student of all the literature of Confucius and proclaimed himself his disciple. Yet, as a later Chinese philosopher of high fame expressed the matter, "Confucius only spoke of *benevolence,* but as soon as Mencius spoke we hear of *benevolence and righteousness.* Confucius only spoke of the *will* or *mind,* but Mencius enlarged also on the *nourishment of the passion-nature.* In these two respects his merit was great." This emphasizes the more fully rounded philosophy of Mencius. He taught the essential goodness of man's nature, and sought to show men how to develop and bring forth that natural good. He did this more by words than by books; yet in the course of a very active life of preaching he found time to write the seven books here given. They form his complete literary work.

So great became the fame of Mencius as a teacher, that while still comparatively young he was summoned to court after court to give his counsel to the rulers. Confucius had sought thus to govern kings; but his advice had been almost universally rejected, and shame had been heaped upon him. Mencius may have been a shrewder courtier; and his counsels had certainly a stronger and more human appeal; they seem to have been always honored. One Chinese philosopher in a burst of extravagant enthusiasm for Mencius cries out, "Had it not been for him, we should still have been buttoning the lappets of our coats on the left side, and our discourse would have been all confused and indistinct." There the enthusiast stops, feeling apparently that praise could reach no higher.

Of the many Chinese anecdotes of Mencius, the one best

worth recalling is perhaps that of his widowed mother's wise house-moving on his account. "At first they lived near a cemetery, and Mencius amused himself with acting the various scenes which he witnessed at the tombs. 'This,' said the lady, 'is no place for my son'; and she removed to a house in the market-place. But the change was no improvement. The boy took to playing the part of a salesman, vaunting his wares and chaffering with customers. His mother sought a new house, and found one at last close by a public school. There her child's attention was taken with the various exercises of politeness which the scholars were taught, and he endeavored to imitate them. The mother was satisfied. 'This,' she said, 'is the proper place for my son.'"

Here is another ancient and carefully treasured tale of the philosopher: "As Mang grew up, he was sent to school. When he returned home one day his mother looked up from the web which she was weaving, and asked him how far he had got on. He answered her with an air of indifference that he was doing well enough, on which she took a knife and cut through her web. The idler was alarmed, and asked what she meant, when she gave him a long lecture, showing that she had done what he was doing — that her cutting through her web was like his neglecting his learning. The admonition, it is said, had its proper effect; the lecture did not need to be repeated."

THE WORKS OF MENCIUS

THE BOOK OF KING HWUY [1]

BOOK I.— PART I

CHAPTER I

1. Mencius went to see King Hwuy of Leang.

2. The king said, "Venerable sir, since you have not counted it far to come here, a distance of a thousand li, may I presume that you are likewise provided with counsels to profit my kingdom?"

3. Mencius replied, "Why must your Majesty use that word 'profit'? What I am 'likewise' provided with, are counsels to benevolence and righteousness, and these are my only topics.

4. "If your Majesty say, 'What is to be done to profit my kingdom?' the great officers will say, 'What is to be done to profit our families?' and the inferior officers and the common people will say, 'What is to be done to profit our persons?' Superiors and inferiors will try to snatch this profit the one from the other, and the kingdom will be endangered. In the kingdom of ten thousand chariots, the murderer of his sovereign shall be the chief of a family of a thousand chariots. In a kingdom of a thousand chariots, the murderer of his prince shall be the chief of a family of a hundred chariots. To have a thousand in ten thousand, and a hundred in a thousand, can not be said not to be a large allotment, but if righteousness be put last, and profit be put first, they will not be satisfied without snatching all.

5. "There never has been a man trained to benevolence who neglected his parents. There never has been a man

[1] Each book of Mencius is named after some important person introduced at the beginning.

trained to righteousness who made his sovereign an after consideration.

6. "Let your Majesty also say, 'Benevolence and righteousness, and these shall be the only themes.' Why must you use that word —'profit'?"

CHAPTER II

1. Mencius, another day, saw King Hwuy of Leang. The king went and stood with him by a pond, and, looking round at the large geese and deer, said, "Do wise and good princes also find pleasure in these things?"

2. Mencius replied, "Being wise and good, they have pleasure in these things. If they are not wise and good, though they have these things, they do not find pleasure.

3. "It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"'He measured out and commenced his spirit-tower;
He measured it out and planned it.
The people addressed themselves to it,
And in less than a day completed it.
When he measured and began it, he said to them — Be not so earnest:
But the multitudes came as if they had been his children.
The king was in his spirit-park;
The does reposed about,
The does so sleek and fat:
And the white birds shone glistening.
The king was by his spirit-pond;
How full was it of fishes leaping about!'

"King Wan used the strength of the people to make his tower and his pond, and yet the people rejoiced to do the work, calling the tower 'the spirit-tower,' calling the pond 'the spirit-pond,' and rejoicing that he had his large deer, his fishes, and turtles. The ancients caused the people to have pleasure as well as themselves, and therefore they could enjoy it.

4. "In the Declaration of Thang it is said, O sun, when wilt thou expire? We will die together with thee.' The people wished for Kee's death, though they should die with

him. Although he had towers, ponds, birds, and animals, how could he have pleasure alone?"

CHAPTER III

1. King Hwuy of Leang said, "Small as my virtue is, in the government of my kingdom, I do indeed exert my mind to the utmost. If the year be bad on the inside of the river, I remove as many of the people as I can to the east of the river, and convey grain to the country in the Inside. When the year is bad on the east of the river, I act on the same plan. On examining the government of the neighboring kingdoms, I do not find that there is any prince who employs his mind as I do. And yet the people of the neighboring kingdoms do not decrease, nor do my people increase. How is this?"

2. Mencius replied, "Your Majesty is fond of war; let me take an illustration from war.— The soldiers move forward to the sound of the drums; and after their weapons have been crossed, on one side they throw away their coats of mail, trail their arms behind them, and run. Some run a hundred paces and stop; some run fifty paces and stop. What would you think if those who run fifty paces were to laugh at those who run a hundred paces?" The king said, "They may not do so. They only did not run a hundred paces; but they also ran away." "Since your Majesty knows this," replied Mencius, "you need not hope that your people will become more numerous than those of the neighboring kingdoms.

3. "If the seasons of husbandry be not interfered with, the grain will be more than can be eaten. If close nets are not allowed to enter the pools and ponds, the fishes and turtles will be more than can be consumed. If the axes and bills enter the hills and forests only at the proper time, the wood will be more than can be used. When the grain and fish and turtles are more than can be eaten, and there is more wood than can be used, this enables the people to nourish their living and bury their dead, without any feeling against any. This condition, in which the people nourish their living and

bury their dead without any feeling against any, is the first step of royal government.

4. "Let mulberry-trees be planted about the homesteads with their five *mow,* and persons of fifty years may be clothed with silk. In keeping fowls, pigs, dogs, and swine, let not their times of breeding be neglected, and persons of seventy years may eat flesh. Let there not be taken away the time that is proper for the cultivation of the farm with its hundred *mow,* and the family of several mouths that is supported by it shall not suffer from hunger. Let careful attention be paid to education in schools, inculcating in it especially the filial and fraternal duties, and gray-haired men will not be seen upon the roads, carrying burdens on their backs or on their heads. It never has been that the ruler of a State, where such results were seen — persons of seventy wearing silk and eating flesh, and the black-haired people suffering neither from hunger nor cold — did not attain to the Imperial dignity.

5. "Your dogs and swine eat the food of men, and you do not know to make any restrictive arrangements. There are people dying from famine on the roads, and you do not know to issue the stores of your granaries for them. When people die, you say, 'It is not owing to me; it is owing to the year.' In what does this differ from stabbing a man and killing him, and then saying —'It was not I; it was the weapon'? Let your Majesty cease to lay the blame on the year, and instantly from all the empire the people will come to you."

CHAPTER IV

1. King Hwuy of Leang said, "I wish quietly to receive your instructions."

2. Mencius replied, "Is there any difference between killing a man with a stick and with a sword?" The king said, "There is no difference."

3. "Is there any difference between doing it with a sword and with the style of government?" "There is no difference," was the reply.

4. Mencius then said, "In your kitchen there is fat meat; in your stables there are fat horses. But your people have the look of hunger, and on the wilds there are those who have died of famine. This is leading on beasts to devour men.

5. "Beasts devour one another, and men hate them for doing so. When a prince, being the parents of his people, administers his government so as to be chargeable with leading on beasts to devour men, where is that parental relation to the people?"

6. Chung-ne said, "Was he not without posterity who first made wooden images to bury with the dead? So he said, because that man made the semblances of men, and used them for that purpose — what shall be thought of him who causes his people to die of hunger?"

CHAPTER V

1. King Hwuy of Leang said, "There was not in the empire a stronger State than Tsin, as you, venerable Sir, know. But since it descended to me, on the east we have been defeated by Ts'e, and then my eldest son perished; on the west we have lost seven hundred li of territory to Ts'in; and on the south we have sustained disgrace at the hands of Ts'u. I have brought shame on my departed predecessors, and wish on their account to wipe it away, once for all. What course is to be pursued to accomplish this?"

2. Mencius replied, "With a territory which is only a hundred li square, it is possible to attain the Imperial dignity.

3. "If your Majesty will indeed dispense a benevolent government to the people, being sparing in the use of punishments and fines, and making the taxes and levies light, so causing that the fields shall be plowed deep, and the weeding of them be carefully attended to, and that the strong-bodied, during their days of leisure, shall cultivate their filial piety, fraternal respectfulness, sincerity, and truthfulness, serving thereby, at home, their fathers and elder brothers, and, abroad, their elders and superiors — you will then have a

people who can be employed, with sticks which they have prepared, to oppose the strong mail and sharp weapons of the troops of Ts'in and Ts'u.

4. "The rulers of those States rob their people of their time, so that they can not plow and weed their fields, in order to support their parents. Their parents suffer from cold and hunger. Brothers, wives, and children are separated and scattered abroad.

5. "Those rulers, as it were, drive their people into pitfalls, or drown them. Your Majesty will go to punish them. In such a case, who will oppose your Majesty?

6. "In accordance with this is the saying, 'The benevolent has no enemy.' I beg your Majesty not to doubt what I say."

CHAPTER VI

1. Mencius went to see the King Seang of Leang.

2. On coming out from the interview, he said to some persons, "When I looked at him from a distance, he did not appear like a sovereign; when I drew near to him, I saw nothing venerable about him. Abruptly he asked me, 'How can the empire be settled?' I replied, 'It will be settled by being united under one sway.'

3. "'Who can so unite it?'

4. "I replied, 'He who has no pleasure in killing men can so unite it.'

5. "'Who can give it to him?'

6. "I replied, 'All the people of the empire will unanimously give it to him. Does your Majesty understand the way of the growing grain? During the seventh and eighth months, when drought prevails, the plants become dry. Then the clouds collect densely in the heavens, they send down torrents of rain, and the grain erects itself, as if by a shoot. When it does so, who can keep it back? Now among the shepherds of men throughout the empire, there is not one who does not find pleasure in killing men. If there were one who did not find pleasure in killing men, all the people in the empire would look toward him with outstretched necks.

Such being indeed the case, the people would flock to him, as water flows downward with a rush, which no one can repress.' "

CHAPTER VII

1. The King Seuen of Ts'e asked, saying, " May I be informed by you of the transactions of Hwan of Ts'e, and Wan of Tsin?"

2. Mencius replied, " There were none of the disciples of Chung-ne who spoke about the affairs of Hwan and Wan, and therefore they have not been transmitted to these after ages; your servant has not heard them. If you will have me speak, let it be about Imperial government."

3. The king said, " What virtue must there be in order to the attainment of Imperial sway?" Mencius answered, " The love and protection of the people; with this there is no power which can prevent a ruler from attaining it."

4. The king asked again, " Is such a one as I competent to love and protect the people?" Mencius said, " Yes." " From what do you know that I am competent to that?" " I heard the following incident from Hu Heih: ' The king,' said he, ' was sitting aloft in the hall, when a man appeared, leading an ox past the lower part of it. The king saw him, and asked, " Where is the ox going?" The man replied, " We are going to consecrate a bell with its blood." The king said, " Let it go. I can not bear its frightened appearance, as if it were an innocent person going to the place of death." The man answered, " Shall we then omit the consecration of the bell?" The king said, " How can that be omitted? Change it for a sheep." ' I do not know whether this incident really occurred."

5. The king replied, " It did," and then Mencius said, " The heart seen in this is sufficient to carry you to the Imperial sway. The people all supposed that your Majesty grudged the animal, but your servant knows surely, that it was your Majesty's not being able to bear the sight, which made you do as you did."

6. The king said, " You are right. And yet there really

was an appearance of what the people condemned. But though Ts'e be a small and narrow State, how should I grudge one ox? Indeed it was because I could not bear its frightened appearance, as if it were an innocent person going to the place of death, that therefore I changed it for a sheep."

7. Mencius pursued, "Let not your Majesty deem it strange that the people should think you were grudging the animal. When you changed the large one for a small, how should they know the true reason? If you felt pained by its being led without guilt to the place of death, what was there to choose between an ox and a sheep?" The King laughed and said, "What really was my mind in the matter? I did not grudge the expense of it, and changed it for a sheep! — There was reason in the people's saying that I grudged it."

8. "There is no harm in their saying so," said Mencius. "Your conduct was an artifice of benevolence. You saw the ox, and had not seen the sheep. So is the superior man affected toward animals, that, having seen them alive, he can not bear to see them die; having heard their dying cries, he can not bear to eat their flesh. Therefore he keeps away from his cook-room."

9. The king was pleased, and said, "It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'The minds of others, I am able by reflection to measure'; this is verified, my Master, in your discovery of my motive. I indeed did the thing, but when I turned my thoughts inward, and examined into it, I could not discover my own mind. When you, my Master, spoke those words, the movements of compassion began to work in my mind. How is it that this heart has in it what is equal to the Imperial sway?"

10. Mencius replied, "Suppose a man were to make this statement to your Majesty: 'My strength is sufficient to lift three thousand catties, but it is not sufficient to lift one feather; my eyesight is sharp enough to examine the point of an autumn hair, but I do not see a wagon-load of faggots' — would your Majesty allow what he said?" "No," was the answer, on which Mencius proceeded, "Now here is kind-

ness sufficient to reach to animals, and no benefits are extended from it to the people. How is this? Is an exception to be made here? The truth is, the feather's not being lifted is because the strength is not used; the wagon-load of firewood's not being seen is because the vision is not used; and the people's not being loved and protected is because the kindness is not employed. Therefore your Majesty's not exercising the Imperial sway is because you do not do it, not because you are not able to do it."

11. The king asked, "How may the difference between the not doing a thing, and the not being able to do it, be represented?" Mencius replied, "In such a thing as taking the Thae mountain under your arm, and leaping over the north sea with it, if you say to people—'I am not able to do it,' that is a real case of not being able. In such a matter as breaking off a branch from a tree at the order of a superior, if you say to people—'I am not able to do it,' that is a case of not doing it, it is not a case of not being able to do it. Therefore your Majesty's not exercising the Imperial sway is not such a case as that of taking the Thae mountain under your arm, and leaping over the north sea with it. Your Majesty's not exercising the Imperial sway is a case like that of breaking off a branch from a tree.

12. "Treat with the reverence due to age the elders in your own family, so that the elders in the families of others shall be similarly treated; treat with the kindness due to youth the young in your own family, so that the young in the families of others shall be similarly treated: do this, and the empire may be made to go round in your palm. It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'His example affected his wife. It reached to his brothers, and his family of the State was governed by it.'— The language shows how King Wan simply took this kindly heart, and exercised it toward those parties. Therefore the carrying out his kindly heart by a prince will suffice for the love and protection of all within the four seas, and if he do not carry it out, he will not be able to protect his wife and children. The way in which the ancients came greatly to surpass other men was no other than this: simply

that they knew well how to carry out, so as to affect others, what they themselves did. Now your kindness is sufficient to reach to animals, and no benefits are extended from it to reach the people. How is this? Is an exception to be made here?

13. "By weighing, we know what things are light and what heavy. By measuring, we know what things are long, and what short. The relations of all things may be thus determined, and it is of the greatest importance to estimate the motions of the mind. I beg your Majesty to measure it.

14. "You collect your equipments of war, endanger your soldiers and officers, and excite the resentment of the other princes; do these things cause you pleasure in your mind?"

15. The king replied "No. How should I derive pleasure from these things? My object in them is to seek for what I greatly desire."

16. Mencius said, "May I hear from you what it is that you greatly desire?" The king laughed and did not speak. Mencius resumed, "Are you led to desire it, because you have not enough of rich and sweet food for your mouth? Or because you have not enough of light and warm clothing for your body? Or because you have not enow of beautifully colored objects to delight your eyes? Or because you have not voices and tones enow to please your ears? Or because you have not enow of attendants and favorites to stand before you and receive your orders? Your Majesty's various officers are sufficient to supply you with those things. How can your Majesty be led to entertain such a desire on account of them?" "No," said the king; "my desire is not on account of them." Mencius added, "Then, what your Majesty greatly desires may be known. You wish to enlarge your territories, to have Ts'in and Ts'u wait at your court, to rule the Middle Kingdom, and to attract to you the barbarous tribes that surround it. But to do what you do to seek for what you desire is like climbing a tree to seek for fish."

17. The king said, "Is it so bad as that?" "It is even worse," was the reply. "If you climb a tree to seek for fish, although you do not get the fish, you will not suffer any sub-

sequent calamity. But if you do what you do to seek for what you desire, doing it moreover with all your heart, you will assuredly afterward meet with calamities." The king asked, "May I hear from you the proof of that?" Mencius said, "If the people of Tsow should fight with the people of Ts'u, which of them does your Majesty think would conquer?" "The people of Ts'u would conquer." "Yes; and so it is certain that a small country can not contend with a great, that few can not contend with many, that the weak can not contend with the strong. The territory within the four seas embraces nine divisions, each of a thousand li square. All Ts'e together is but one of them. If with one part you try to subdue the other eight, what is the difference between that and Tsow's contending with Ts'u? For, with the desire which you have, you must likewise turn back to the radical course for its attainment.

18. "Now if your Majesty will institute a government whose action shall all be benevolent, this will cause all the officers in the empire to wish to stand in your Majesty's court, and the farmers all to wish to plow in your Majesty's fields, and the merchants, both traveling and stationary, all to wish to store their goods in your Majesty's market-places, and traveling strangers all to wish to make their tours on your Majesty's roads, and all throughout the empire who feel aggrieved by their rulers to wish to come and complain to your Majesty. And when they are so bent, who will be able to keep them back?"

19. The king said, "I am stupid and not able to advance to this. I wish you, my Master, to assist my intentions. Teach me clearly; although I am deficient in intelligence and vigor, I will essay and try to carry your instructions into effect."

20. Mencius replied, "They are only men of education, who, without a certain livelihood, are able to maintain a fixed heart. As to the people, if they have not a certain livelihood, it follows that they will not have a fixed heart. And if they have not a fixed heart, there is nothing which they will not do, in the way of self-abandonment, of moral deflec-

tion, of depravity, and of wild license. When they thus have been involved in crime, to follow them up and punish them — this is to entrap people. How can such a thing as entrapping the people be done under the rule of a benevolent man?"

21. "Therefore an intelligent ruler will regulate the livelihood of the people, so as to make sure that, above, they shall have sufficient wherewith to serve their parents, and, below, sufficient wherewith to support their wives and children; that in good years they shall always be abundantly satisfied, and that in bad years they shall escape the danger of perishing. After this he may urge them, and they will proceed to what is good, for in this case the people will follow after that with ease.

22. "Now the livelihood of the people is so regulated, that, above, they have not sufficient wherewith to serve their parents, and, below, they have not sufficient wherewith to support their wives and children. Notwithstanding good years, their lives are continually embittered, and, in bad years, they do not escape perishing. In such circumstances they only try to save themselves from death, and are afraid they will not succeed. What leisure have they to cultivate propriety and righteousness?

23. "If your Majesty wishes to effect this regulation of the livelihood of the people, why not turn to that which is the essential step to it?

24. "Let mulberry-trees be planted about the homesteads with their five *mow,* and persons of fifty years may be clothed with silk. In keeping fowls, pigs, dogs, and swine, let not their times of breeding be neglected, and persons of seventy years may eat flesh. Let there not be taken away the time that is proper for the cultivation of the farm with its hundred *mow,* and the family of eight mouths that is supported by it shall not suffer from hunger. Let careful attention be paid to education in schools — the inculcation in it especially of the filial and fraternal duties — and gray-haired men will not be seen upon the roads, carrying burdens on their backs or on their heads. It never has been that the ruler of a

State where such results were seen — the old wearing silk and eating flesh, and the black-haired people suffering neither from hunger nor cold — did not attain to the Imperial dignity."

BOOK I.— PART II

CHAPTER I

1. Chwang Paou, seeing Mencius, said to him, "I had an audience of the king. His Majesty told me that he loved music, and I was not prepared with anything to reply to him. What do you pronounce about that love of music?" Mencius replied, "If the king's love of music were very great, the kingdom of Ts'e would be near to a state of good government."

2. Another day, Mencius, having an audience of the king, said, "Your Majesty, I have heard, told the officer Chwang that you love music; was it so?" The king changed color, and said, "I am unable to love the music of the ancient sovereigns; I only love the music that suits the manners of the present age."

3. Mencius said, "If your Majesty's love of music were very great, Ts'e would be near to a state of good government! The music of the present day is just like the music of antiquity, in regard to effecting that."

4. The king said, "May I hear from you the proof of that?" Mencius asked, "Which is the more pleasant — to enjoy music by yourself alone, or to enjoy it along with others?" "To enjoy it along with others," was the reply. "And which is the more pleasant — to enjoy music along with a few, or to enjoy it along with many?" "To enjoy it along with many."

5. Mencius proceeded, "Your servant begs to explain what I have said about music to your Majesty.

6. "Now, your Majesty is having music here. The people hear the noise of your bells and drums, and the notes of your fifes and pipes, and they all, with aching heads, knit their brows, and say to one another, 'That's how our king

likes his music. But why does he reduce us to this extremity of distress? — Fathers and sons can not see one another. Elder brothers and younger brothers, wives and children, are separated and scattered abroad.' Now your Majesty is hunting here. The people hear the noise of your carriages and horses, and see the beauty of your plumes and streamers, and they all, with aching heads, knit their brows, and say to one another, 'That's how our king likes his hunting! But why does he reduce us to this extremity of distress? — Fathers and sons can not see one another. Elder brothers and younger brothers, wives and children, are separated and scattered abroad.' Their feeling thus is from no other reason but that you do not give the people to have pleasure as well as yourself.

7. "Now, your Majesty is having music here. The people hear the noise of your bells and drums, and the notes of your fifes and pipes, and they all, delighted, and with joyful looks, say to one another, 'That sounds as if our king were free from all sickness! If he were not, how could he enjoy this music?' Now, your Majesty is hunting here. The people hear the noise of your carriages and horses, and see the beauty of your plumes and streamers, and they all, delighted, and with joyful looks, say to one another, 'That looks as if our king were free from all sickness! If he were not, how could he enjoy this hunting?' Their feeling thus is from no other reason but that you cause them to have pleasure as you have yours.

8. "If your Majesty now will make pleasure a thing common to the people and yourself, the Imperial sway awaits you."

CHAPTER II

1. The King Seuen of Ts'e asked, "Was it so that the park of King Wan contained seventy square li?" Mencius replied, "It is so in the records."

2. "Was it so large as that?" exclaimed the king. "The people," said Mencius, "still looked on it as small." The king added, "My park contains only forty square li, and the

people still look on it as large. How is this?" "The park of King Wan," was the reply, "contained seventy square li, but the grass-cutters and fuel-gatherers had the privilege of entrance into it; so also had the catchers of pheasants and hares. He shared it with the people, and was it not with reason that they looked on it as small?

3. "When I first arrived at the borders of your State, I inquired about the great prohibitory regulations, before I would venture to enter it; and I heard, that inside the border-gates there was a park of forty square li, and that he who killed a deer in it was held guilty of the same crime as if he had killed a man. Thus those forty square li are a pitfall in the middle of the kingdom. Is it not with reason that the people look upon them as large?"

CHAPTER III

1. The King Seuen of Ts'e asked, saying, "Is there any way to regulate one's maintenance of intercourse with neighboring kingdoms?" Mencius replied, "There is. But it requires a perfectly virtuous prince to be able, with a great country, to serve a small one — as, for instance, Thang served Ko, and King Wan served the Kwan barbarians. And it requires a wise prince to be able, with a small country, to serve a large one — as the King Thae served the Heun-yuh, and Kow-tsin served Wu.

2. "He who with a great State serves a small one delights in Heaven. He who with a small State serves a large one stands in awe of Heaven. He who delights in Heaven will affect with his love and protection the whole empire. He who stands in awe of Heaven will affect with his love and protection his own kingdom.

3. "It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'I fear the Majesty of Heaven, and will thus preserve its favoring decree.'"

4. The king said, "A great saying! But I have an infirmity; I love valor."

5. "I beg your Majesty," was the reply, "not to love small valor. If a man brandishes his sword, looks fiercely, and says, 'How dare he withstand me?'— this is the valor

of a common man, who can be the opponent only of a single individual. I beg your Majesty to greaten it.

6. "It is said in the Book of Poetry,

> "'The king blazed with anger,
> And he marshaled his hosts,
> To stop the march to Keu,
> To consolidate the prosperity of Chow,
> To meet the expectations of the empire.'

This was the valor of King Wan. King Wan in one burst of his anger gave repose to all the people of the Empire.

7. "In the Book of History it is said, 'Heaven having produced the inferior people, appointed for them rulers and teachers, with the purpose that they should be assisting to God, and therefore distinguished them throughout the four quarters of the empire. Whoever are offenders, and whoever are innocent, here am I to deal with them. How dare any under heaven give indulgence to their refractory wills?' There was one man pursuing a violent and disorderly course in the empire, and King Wu was ashamed of it. This was the valor of King Wu. He also, by one display of his anger, gave repose to all the people of the empire.

8. "Let now your Majesty also, in one burst of anger, give repose to all the people of the empire. The people are only afraid that your Majesty does not love valor."

CHAPTER IV

1. The King Seuen of Ts'e had an interview with Mencius in the Snow palace, and said to him, "Do men of talents and worth likewise find pleasure in these things?" Mencius replied, "They do, and if people generally are not able to enjoy themselves, they condemn their superiors.

2. "For them, when they can not enjoy themselves, to condemn their superiors is wrong, but when the superiors of the people do not make enjoyment a thing common to the people and themselves, they also do wrong.

3. "When a ruler rejoices in the joy of his people, they also rejoice in his joy; when he grieves at the sorrow of his

people, they also grieve at his sorrow. A sympathy of joy will pervade the empire; a sympathy of sorrow will do the same: in such a state of things, it can not be but that the ruler attain to the Imperial dignity.

4. "Formerly, the duke, King of Ts'e, asked the minister Ngan, saying, 'I wish to pay a visit of inspection to Chuen-fu, and Ch'aou-wu, and then to bend my course southward along the shore, till I come to Lang-yay. What shall I do that my tour may be fit to be compared with the visits of inspection made by the ancient emperors?'

5. "The minister Ngan replied, 'An excellent inquiry! When the emperor visited the princes it was called a tour of inspection, that is, he surveyed the States under their care. When the princes attended at the court of the emperor it was called a report of office, that is, they reported their administration of their offices. Thus, neither of the proceedings was without a purpose. And moreover, in the spring they examined the plowing, and supplied any deficiency of seed; in the autumn they examined the reaping, and supplied any deficiency of yield. There is the saying of the Hea Dynasty — If our king do not take his ramble, what will become of our happiness? If our king do not make this excursion, what will become of our help? That ramble, and that excursion, were a pattern to the princes.

6. "'Now the state of things is different. A host marches in attendance on the ruler, and stores of provisions are consumed. The hungry are deprived of their food, and there is no rest for those who are called to toil. Maledictions are uttered by one to another with eyes askance, and the people proceed to the commission of wickedness. Thus the Imperial ordinances are violated, and the people are oppressed, and the supplies of food and drink flow away like water. The rulers yield themselves to the current, or they urge their way against it; they are wild; they are utterly lost: these things proceed to the grief of their subordinate governors.

7. "'Descending along with the current, and forgetting to return, is what I call yielding to it. Pressing up against

it, and forgetting to return, is what I call urging their way against it. Pursuing the chase without satiety is what I call being wild. Delighting in wine without satiety is what I call being lost.

8. "'The ancient emperors had no pleasures to which they gave themselves as on the flowing stream; no doings which might be so characterized as wild and lost.

9. "'It is for you, my prince, to pursue your course.'"

10. "The duke king was pleased. He issued a proclamation throughout his State, and went out and occupied a shed in the borders. From that time he began to open his granaries to supply the wants of the people, and calling the grand music-master, he said to him —'Make for me music to suit a prince and his minister pleased with each other.' And it was then that the Che-shaou and Keo-shaou were made, in the poetry to which it was said, 'What fault is it to restrain one's prince?' He who restrains his prince loves his prince."

CHAPTER V

1. The King Seuen of T'se said, "People all tell me to pull down and remove the Brilliant Palace. Shall I pull it down, or stop the movement for that object?"

2. Mencius replied, "The Brilliant Palace is a palace appropriate to the emperors. If your Majesty wishes to practise the true royal government, then do not pull it down."

3. The king said, "May I hear from you what the true royal government is?" "Formerly," was the reply, "King Wan's government of K'e was as follows: The husbandmen cultivated for the government one-ninth of the land; the descendants of officers were salaried; at the passes and in the markets, strangers were inspected, but goods were not taxed; there were no prohibitions respecting the ponds and weirs; the wives and children of criminals were not involved in their guilt. There were the old and wifeless, or widowers; the old and husbandless, or widows; the old and childless, or solitaries; the young and fatherless, or orphans — these four classes are the most destitute of the people, and have none to

whom they can tell their wants, and King Wan, in the institution of his government with its benevolent action, made them the first objects of his regard, as it is said in the Book of Poetry,

> "'The rich may get through.
> But alas! for the miserable and solitary!'"

4. The king said, "O excellent words!" Mencius said, "Since your Majesty deems them excellent, why do you not practise them?" "I have an infirmity," said the king; "I am fond of wealth." The reply was, "Formerly, Kung-liu was fond of wealth. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"'He reared his ricks, and filled his granaries,
He tied up dried provisions and grain
In bottomless bags, and sacks,
That he might gather his people together, and glorify his State.
With bows and arrows all-displayed,
With shields, and spears, and battle-axes, large and small,
He commenced his march.'

In this way those who remained in their old seat had their ricks and granaries, and those who marched had their bags of provisions. It was not till after this that he thought he could commence his march. If your Majesty loves wealth, let the people be able to gratify the same feeling, and what difficulty will there be in your attaining the Imperial sway?"

5. The king said, "I have an infirmity; I am fond of beauty." The reply was, "Formerly, King Thae was fond of beauty, and loved his wife. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

> "'Ku-kung Than-fu
> Came in the morning, galloping his horse,
> By the banks of the western waters,
> As far as the foot of K'e hill,
> Along with the lady of Keang;
> They came and together chose the site of settlement.'

At that time, in the seclusion of the house, there were no dissatisfied women, and abroad, there were no unmarried men.

If your Majesty loves beauty, let the people be able to gratify the same feeling, and what difficulty will there be in your attaining the Imperial sway?"

CHAPTER VI

1. Mencius said to the King Seuen of T'se, "Suppose that one of your Majesty's ministers were to entrust his wife and children to the care of his friend, while he himself went to Ts'u to travel, and that, on his return, he should find that the friend had caused his wife and children to suffer from cold and hunger — how ought he to deal with him?" The king said, "He should cast him off."

2. Mencius proceeded, "Suppose that the chief criminal judge could not regulate the officers under him, how would you deal with him?" The king said, "Dismiss him."

3. Mencius again said, "If within the four borders of your kingdom there is not good government, what is to be done?" The king looked to the right and left, and spoke of other matters.

CHAPTER VII

1. Mencius, having an interview with the King Seuen of Ts'e, said to him, "When men speak of 'an ancient kingdom,' it is not meant thereby that it has lofty trees in it, but that it has ministers sprung from families which have been noted in it for generations. Your Majesty has no intimate ministers even. Those whom you advanced yesterday are gone to-day, and you do not know it."

2. The king said, "How shall I know that they have not ability, and so avoid employing them at all?"

3. The reply was, "The ruler of a State advances to office men of talents and virtue, only as a matter of necessity. Since he will thereby cause the low to overstep the honorable, and strangers to overstep his relatives, may he do so but with caution?

4. "When all those about you say, 'This is a man of talents and worth,' you may not for that believe it. When your great officers all say, 'This is a man of talents and virtue,' neither may you for that believe it. When all the

people say, 'This is a man of talents and virtue,' then examine into the case, and when you find that the man is such, employ him. When all those about you say, 'This man won't do, don't listen to them.' When all your great officers say, 'This man won't do, don't listen to them.' When the people all say, 'This man won't do,' then examine into the case, and when you find that the man won't do, send him away.

5. "When all those about you say, 'This man deserves death,' don't listen to them. When all your great officers say, 'This man deserves death,' don't listen to them. When the people all say, 'This man deserves death,' then inquire into the case, and when you see that the man deserves death, put him to death. In accordance with this we have the saying, 'the people killed him.'

6. "You must act in this way in order to be the parent of the people."

CHAPTER VIII

1. The King Seuen of Ts'e asked, saying, "Was it so, that Thang banished Kee, and that King Wu smote Chow?" Mencius replied, "It is so in the records."

2. The king said, "May a minister then put his sovereign to death?"

3. Mencius said, "He who outrages the benevolence proper to his nature is called a robber; he who outrages righteousness is called a ruffian. The robber and ruffian we call a mere fellow. I have heard of the cutting off of the fellow Chow, but I have not heard of the putting a sovereign to death, in his case."

CHAPTER IX

1. Mencius, having an interview with the King Seuen of T'se, said to him, "If you are going to build a large mansion, you will surely cause the master of the workmen to look out for large trees, and when he has found such large trees, you will be glad, thinking that they will answer for the intended object. Should the workmen hew them so as to make them too small, then your Majesty will be angry, thinking that

they will not answer for the purpose. Now, a man spends his youth in learning the principles of right government, and, being grown up to vigor, he wishes to put them in practise; if your Majesty says to him, 'For the present put aside what you have learned, and follow me,' what shall we say?

2. "Here now you have a gem unwrought, in the stone. Although it may be worth 240,000 taels, you will surely employ a lapidary to cut and polish it. But when you come to the government of the State, then you say, 'For the present put aside what you have learned, and follow me.' How is it that you herein act so differently from your conduct in calling in the lapidary to cut the gem!"

CHAPTER X

1. The people of Ts'e attacked Yen, and conquered it.

2. The King Seuen asked, saying, "Some tell me not to take possession of it for myself, and some tell me to take possession of it. For a kingdom of ten thousand chariots, attacking another of ten thousand chariots, to complete the conquest of it in fifty days, is an achievement beyond mere human strength. If I do not take possession of it calamities from Heaven will surely come upon me. What do you say to my taking possession of it?"

3. Mencius replied, "If the people of Yen will be pleased with your taking possession of it, then do so. Among the ancients there was one who acted on this principle, namely King Wu. If the people of Yen will not be pleased with your taking possession of it, then do not do so. Among the ancients there was one who acted on this principle, namely King Wan.

4. "When, with all the strength of your country of ten thousand chariots, you attacked another country of ten thousand chariots, and the people brought baskets of rice and vessels of *congee,* to meet your Majesty's host, was there any other reason for this but that they hoped to escape out of fire and water? If you make the water more deep and fire more fierce, they will just in like manner make another revolution."

CHAPTER XI

1. The people of Ts'e having smitten Yen, took possession of it, and upon this the princes of the various States deliberated together, and resolved to deliver Yen from their power. The King Seuen said to Mencius, "The princes have formed many plans to attack me: how shall I prepare myself for them?" Mencius replied, "I have heard of one who with seventy li exercised all the functions of government throughout the empire. That was Thang. I have never heard of a prince with a thousand li standing in fear of others."

2. "It is said in the Book of History, 'As soon as Thang began his work of executing justice, he commenced with Ko. The whole empire had confidence in him. When he pursued his work in the east, the rude tribes on the west murmured. So did those on the north, when he was engaged in the south. The cry was — Why does he make us last? Thus, the looking of the people to him was like the looking in a time of great drought to the clouds and rainbows. The frequenters of the markets stopped not. The husbandmen made no change in their operations. While he punished their rulers he consoled the people. His progress was like the falling of opportune rain, and the people were delighted. It is said again in the Book of History, 'We have waited for our prince long; the prince's coming will be our reviving!'

3. "Now the ruler of Yen was tyrannizing over his people, and your Majesty went and punished him. The people supposed that you were going to deliver them out of the water and the fire, and brought baskets of rice and vessels of *congee,* to meet your Majesty's host. But you have slain their fathers and elder brothers, and put their sons and younger brothers in chains. You have pulled down the ancestral temple of the State, and are removing to Ts'e its precious vessels. How can such a course be deemed proper? The rest of the empire is indeed jealously afraid of the strength of Ts'e, and now, when with a doubled territory you do not put in practise a benevolent government — it is this which sets the arms of the empire in motion.

4. "If your Majesty will make haste to issue an ordinance, restoring your captives, old and young, stopping the removal of the precious vessels, and saying that, after consulting with the people of Yen, you will appoint them a ruler, and withdraw from the country; — in this way you may still be able to stop the threatened attack."

CHAPTER XII

1. There had been a brush between Tsow and Lu, when the Duke of Muh asked Mencius, saying, "Of my officers there were killed thirty-three men, and none of the people would die in their defense. If I put them to death for their conduct, it is impossible to put such a multitude to death. If I do not put them to death, then there is the crime unpunished of their looking angrily on at the death of their officers, and not saving them. How is the exigency of the case to be met?"

2. Mencius replied, "In calamitous years and years of famine, the old and weak of your people, who have been found lying in the ditches and water-channels, and the able-bodied, who have been scattered about to the four quarters, have numbered several thousands. All the while, your granaries, O prince, have been stored with grain, and your treasuries and arsenals have been full, and not one of your officers has told you of the distress. Thus negligent have the superiors in your State been, and cruel to their inferiors. The philosopher Tsang said, 'Beware, beware. What proceeds from you will return to you again.' Now at length the people have returned their conduct to the officers. Do not you, O prince, blame them.

3. "If you will put in practise a benevolent government, this people will love you and all above them, and will die for their officers."

CHAPTER XIII

1. The Duke Wan of Thang asked Mencius, saying, "Thang is a small kingdom, and lies between Ts'e and Ts'u. Shall I serve Ts'e? Or shall I serve Ts'u?"

2. Mencius replied, "This plan which you propose is beyond me. If you will have me counsel you, there is one thing I can suggest. Dig deeper your moats; build higher your walls; guard them along with your people. In case of attack, be prepared to die in your defense, and have the people so that they will not leave you — this is a proper course."

CHAPTER XIV

1. The Duke Wan of Thang asked Mencius, saying, "The people of Ts'e are going to fortify See. The movement occasions me great alarm. What is the proper course for me to take in the case?"

2. Mencius replied, "Formerly, when King Thae dwelt in Pin, the barbarians of the north were continually making incursions upon it. He therefore left it, went to the foot of mount K'e, and there took up his residence. He did not take that situation, as having selected it. It was a matter of necessity with him.

3. "If you do good, among your descendants, in after generations, there shall be one who will attain to the Imperial dignity. A prince lays the foundation of the inheritance, and hands down the beginning which he has made, doing what may be continued by his successors. As to the accomplishment of the great result: that is with Heaven. What is that Ts'e to you, O, prince? Be strong to do good. That is all your business.

CHAPTER XV

1. The Duke Wan of Thang asked Mencius, saying, "Thang is a small kingdom. Though I do my utmost to serve those large kingdoms on either side of it, we can not escape suffering from them. What course shall I take that we may do so?" Mencius replied, "Formerly, when King Thae dwelt in Pin, the barbarians of the north were constantly making incursions upon it. He served them with skins and silks, and still he suffered from them. He served them with dogs and horses, and still he suffered from them. He served them with pearls and gems, and still he suffered

from them. Seeing this, he assembled the old men, and announced to them, saying, 'What the barbarians want is my territory. I have heard this — that a ruler does not injure his people with that wherewith he nourishes them. My children, why should you be troubled about having no prince? I will leave this.' Accordingly, he left Pin, crossed the mountain Leang, built a town at the foot of mount K'e, and dwelt there. The people of Pin said, 'He is a benevolent man. We must not lose him.' Those who followed him looked like crowds hastening to market.

2. "On the other hand, some say, 'The kingdom is a thing to be kept from generation to generation. One individual can not undertake to dispose of it in his own person. Let him be prepared to die for it. Let him not quit it.'

3. "I ask you, prince, to make your election between these two courses."

CHAPTER XVI

1. The Duke P'ing of Lu was about to leave his palace, when his favorite, one Tsang Ts'ang, made a request to him, saying, "On other days, when you have gone out, you have given instructions to the officers as to where you were going. But now, the horses have been put to the carriage, and the officers do not yet know where you are going. I venture to ask." The duke said, "I am going to see the scholar Mang." "How is this!" said the other. "That you demean yourself, prince, in paying the honor of the first visit to a common man, is, I apprehend, because you think that he is a man of talents and virtue. By such men the rules of ceremonial proprieties and right are observed. But on the occasion of this Mang's second mourning, his observances exceeded those of the former. Do not go to see him, my prince." The duke said, "I will not."

2. The officer Yo-ching entered the court, and had an audience. He said, "Prince, why have you not gone to see Mang K'o?" The duke said, "One told me that on the occasion of the scholar Mang's second mourning, his observances exceeded those of the former. It is on that ac-

count that I have not gone to see him." "How is this!" answered Yo-ching. "By what you call 'exceeding,' you mean, I suppose, that, on the first occasion, he used the rites appropriate to a scholar, and, on the second, those appropriate to a great officer; that he first used three tripods, and afterward five tripods?" The duke said, "No; I refer to the greater excellence of the coffin, the shell, the grave-clothes, and the shroud." Yo-ching said, "That can not be called 'exceeding.' That was the difference between being poor and being rich."

3. After this, Yo-ching saw Mencius, and said to him, "I told the prince about you, and he was consequently coming to see you, when one of his favorites, named Tsang Ts'ang, stopped him, and therefore he did not come according to his purpose." Mencius said, "A man's advancement is effected, it may be, by others, and the stopping him is, it may be, from the efforts of others. But to advance a man or to stop his advance is really beyond the power of other men. My not finding in the prince of Lu a ruler who would confide in me, and put my counsels into practise, is from Heaven. How could that scion of the Tsang family cause me not to find the ruler that would suit me?"

THE BOOK OF KUNG-SUN CHOW

BOOK II.— PART I

CHAPTER I

1. Kung-sun Chow asked Mencius, saying, "Master, if you were to obtain the ordering of the government in Ts'e, could you promise yourself to accomplish anew such results as those realized by Kwan Chung and Gan?"

2. Mencius said, "You are indeed a true man of Tse. You know about Kwan Chung and Gan, and nothing more.

3. "Some one asked Tsang Se, saying, 'Sir, to which do you give the superiority — to yourself or to Tsze-lu?' Tsang Se looked uneasy, and said, 'He was an object of veneration to my grandfather.' 'Then,' pursued the other, 'Do you give the superiority to yourself or to Kwan Chang?' Tsang Se, flushed with anger and displeasure, said, 'How dare you compare me with Kwan Chung? Considering how entirely Kwan Chung possessed the confidence of his prince, how long he enjoyed the direction of the government of the kingdom, and how low, after all, was what he accomplished — how is it that you liken me to him?'

4. "Thus," concluded Mencius, "Tsang Se would not play Kwan Chung, and is it what you desire for me, that I should do so?"

5. Kung-sun Ch'ow said, "Kwan Chung raised his prince to be the leader of all the other princes, and Gan made his prince illustrious, and do you still think it would not be enough for you to do what they did?"

6. Mencius answered, "To raise Ts'e to the Imperial dignity would be as easy as it is to turn round the hand."

7. "So!" returned the other. "The perplexity of your disciple is hereby very much increased. There was King Wan, with all the virtue which belonged to him; and who did not die till he had reached a hundred years: — and still

his influence had not penetrated throughout the empire. It required King Wu and the Duke of Chow to continue his course, before that influence greatly prevailed. Now you say that the Imperial dignity might be so easily obtained: is King Wan then not a sufficient object for imitation?"

8. Mencius said, "How can King Wan be matched? From Thang to Wu-ting there had appeared six or seven worthy and sage sovereigns. The empire had been attached to Yin for a long time, and this length of time made a change difficult. Wu-ting had all the princes coming to his court, and possessed the empire as if it had been a thing which he moved round in his palm. Then, Chow was removed from Wu-ting by no great interval of time. There were still remaining some of the ancient families and of the old manners, of the influence also which had emanated from the earlier sovereigns, and of their good government. Moreover, there were the viscount of Wei and his second son, their Royal Highnesses, Pe-kan and the viscount of Ke, and Kaou-kih, all, men of ability and virtue, who gave their joint assistance to Chow in his government. In consequence of these things, it took a long time for him to lose the empire. There was not a foot of ground which he did not possess. There was not one of all the people who was not his subject. So it was on his side, and King Wan made his beginning from a territory of only one hundred square li. On all these accounts, it was difficult for him immediately to attain the Imperial dignity.

9. "The people of Ts'e have a saying, 'A man may have wisdom and discernment, but that is not like embracing the favorable opportunity. A man may have instruments of husbandry, but that is not like waiting for the farming seasons.' The present time is one in which the Imperial dignity may be easily attained.

10. "In the flourishing periods of the Hea, Yin, and Chow dynasties, the imperial domain did not exceed a thousand li, and Ts'e embraces so much territory. Cocks crow and dogs bark to each other, all the way to the four borders of the State — so Ts'e possesses the people. No

change is needed for the enlarging of its territory: no change is needed for the collecting of a population. If its ruler will put in practise a benevolent government, no power will be able to prevent his becoming Emperor.

11. "Moreover, never was there a time farther removed than the present from the appearance of a true sovereign: never was there a time when the sufferings of the people from tyrannical government were more intense than the present. The hungry are easily supplied with food, and the thirsty are easily supplied with drink.

12. "Confucius said, 'The flowing progress of virtue is more rapid than the transmission of imperial orders by stages and couriers.'

13. "At the present time, in a country of ten thousand chariots, let benevolent government be put in practise, and the people will be delighted with it, as if they were relieved from hanging by the heels. With half the merit of the ancients, double their achievements is sure to be realized. It is only at this time that such could be the case."

CHAPTER II

1. Kung-sun Ch'ow asked Mencius, saying, "Master, if you were to be appointed a high noble and the prime minister of Ts'e, so as to be able to carry your principles into practise, though you should thereupon raise the prince to the headship of all the other princes, or even to the Imperial dignity, it would not be to be wondered at — in such a position would your mind be perturbed or not?" Mencius replied, "No. At forty I attained to an unperturbed mind."

2. Ch'ow said, "Since it is so with you, my Master, you are far beyond Mang Pun." "The mere attainment," said Mencius, "is not difficult. The scholar Kaou had attained to an unperturbed mind at an earlier period of life than I did."

3. Ch'ow asked, "Is there any way to an unperturbed mind?" The answer was "Yes.

4. "Pih-kung Yiu had this way of nourishing his valor: He did not flinch from any strokes at his body. He did not

turn his eyes aside from any thrusts at them. He considered that the slightest push from any one was the same as if he were beaten before the crowds in the market-place, and that what he would not receive from a common man in his loose large garments of hair, neither should he receive from a prince of ten thousand chariots. He viewed stabbing a prince of ten thousand chariots just as stabbing a fellow dressed in cloth of hair. He feared not any of all the princes. A bad word addressed to him he always returned.

5. "Mang She-shay had this way of nourishing his valor: He said, 'I look upon not conquering and conquering in the same way. To measure the enemy and then advance; to calculate the chances of victory and then engage: this is to stand in awe of the opposing force. How can I make certain of conquering? I can only rise superior to all fear.'

6. "Mang She-shay resembled the philosopher Tsang. Pih-kung Yiu resembled Tsze-hea. I do not know to the valor of which of the two the superiority should be ascribed, but yet Mang She-shay attended to what was of the greater importance.

7. "Formerly, the philosopher Tsang said to Tsze-seang, 'Do you love valor? I heard an account of great valor from the Master. It speaks thus: 'If, on self-examination, I find that I am not upright, shall I not be in fear even of a poor man in his loose garments of hair cloth? If, on self-examination, I find that I am upright, I will go forward against thousands and tens of thousands.'

8. "Yet, what Mang She-shay maintained, being his merely physical energy, was after all inferior to what the philosopher Tsang maintained, which was indeed of the most importance."

9. Kung-sun Ch'ow said, "May I venture to ask an explanation from you, Master, of how you maintain an unperturbed mind, and how the Philosopher Kaou does the same?" Mencius answered, "Kaou says, 'What is not attained in words is not to be sought for in the mind; what produces dissatisfaction in the mind is not to be helped by passion-effort.' This last, when there is unrest in the mind, not to

seek for relief from passion-effort, may be conceded. But not to seek in the mind for what is not attained in words can not be conceded. The will is the leader of the passion-nature. The passion-nature pervades and animates the body. The will is first and chief, and the passion-nature is subordinate to it. Therefore I say, Maintain firm the will, and do no violence to the passion-nature.

10. Ch'ow observed, "Since you say, 'The will is chief, and the passion-nature is subordinate,' how do you also say, 'Maintain firm the will, and do no violence to the passion nature?'" Mencius replied, "When it is the will alone which is active, it moves the passion-nature. When it is the passion-nature alone which is active, it moves the will. For instance now, in the case of a man falling or running — that is from the passion-nature, and yet it moves the mind."

11. "I venture to ask," said Ch'ow again, "wherein you, Master, surpass Kaou." Mencius told him, "I understand words. I am skilful in nourishing my vast, flowing passion-nature."

12. Ch'ow pursued, "I venture to ask what you mean by your vast, flowing passion-nature!" The reply was, "It is difficult to describe it.

13. "This is the passion-nature: It is exceedingly great and exceedingly strong. Being nourished by rectitude, and sustaining no injury, it fills up all between heaven and earth.

14. "This is the passion-nature: It is the mate and assistant of righteousness and reason. Without it, man is in a state of starvation.

15. "It is produced by the accumulation of righteous deeds; it is not to be obtained by incidental acts of righteousness. If the mind does not feel complacency in the conduct, the nature becomes starved. I therefore said, 'Kaou has never understood righteousness, because he makes it something external.'

16. "There must be the constant practise of this righteousness, but without the object of thereby nourishing the passion-nature. Let not the mind forget its work, but let

there be no assisting the growth of that nature. Let us not be like the man of Sung. There was a man of Sung, who was grieved that his growing corn was not longer, and so he pulled it up. Having done this, he returned home, looking very stupid, and said to his people, 'I am tired to-day. I have been helping the corn to grow long.' His son ran to look at it, and found the corn all withered. There are few in the world who do not deal with their passion-nature as if they were assisting the corn to grow long. Some indeed consider it of no benefit to them, and let it alone — they do not weed their corn. They who assist it to grow long pull out their corn. What they do is not only of no benefit to the nature, but it also injures it."

17. Kung-sun Ch'ow further asked, "What do you mean by saying that you understand whatever words you hear?" Mencius replied, "When words are one-sided, I know how the mind of the speaker is clouded over. When words are extravagant, I know how the mind is fallen and sunk. When words are all-depraved, I know how the mind has departed from principle. When words are evasive, I know how the mind is at its wits' end. These evils growing in the mind do injury to government, and, displayed in the government, are hurtful to the conduct of affairs. When a Sage shall again arise, he will certainly follow my words."

18. On this Ch'ow observed, "Tsae Go and Tsze-kung were skilful in speaking. Yen Niu, the disciple Min, and Yen Yuen, while their words were good, were distinguished for their virtuous conduct. Confucius united the qualities of the disciples in himself, but still he said, 'In the matter of speeches, I am not competent.'— Then, Master, have you attained to be a Sage?"

19. Mencius said, "Oh! what words are these? Formerly Tsze-kung asked Confucius, saying, 'Master, are you a Sage?' Confucius answered him, 'A sage is what I can not rise to. I learn without satiety, and teach without being tired.' Tsze-kung said, 'You learn without satiety: that shows your wisdom. You teach without being tired: that

shows your benevolence. Benevolent and wise: Master, you *are* a Sage.' Now, since Confucius would not have himself regarded as a sage, what words were those?"

20. Ch'ow said, "Formerly, I once heard this: Tsze-hea, Tsze-yiu, and Tsze-chang had each one member of the sage. Yen Niu, the disciple Min, and Yen Yuen had all the members, but in small proportions. I venture to ask: with which of these are you pleased to rank yourself?"

21. Mencius replied, "Let us drop speaking about these, if you please."

22. Ch'ow then asked, "What do you say of Pih-e and E-yun?" "Their ways were different from mine," said Mencius. "Not to serve a prince whom he did not esteem, nor command a people whom he did not approve; in a time of good government to take office, and on the occurrence of confusion to retire — this was the way of Pih-e. To say, 'Whom may I not serve? My serving him makes him my prince. What people may I not command? My commanding them makes them my people.' In a time of good government to take office, and when disorder prevailed, also to take office — that was the way of E-yun. When it was proper to go into office, then to go into it; when it was proper to keep retired from office, then to keep retired from it; when it was proper to continue in it long, then to continue in it long: when it was proper to withdraw from it quickly, then to withdraw quickly — this was the way of Confucius. These were all sages of antiquity, and I have not attained to do what they did. But what I wish to do is to learn to be like Confucius."

23. Ch'ow said, "Comparing Pih-e and E-yun with Confucius, are they to be placed in the same rank?" Mencius replied, "No. Since there were living men until now, there never was another Confucius."

24. Ch'ow said, "Then, did they have any points of agreement with him?" The reply was, "Yes. If they had been sovereigns over a hundred li of territory, they would, all of them, have brought all the princes to attend in their court, and have obtained the empire. And none of them, in order

to obtain the empire, would have committed one act of unrighteousness, or put to death one innocent person. In those things they agreed with him."

25. Ch'ow said, "I venture to ask wherein he differed from them." Mencius replied, "Tsae Go, Tsze-kung, and Yiu Jo had wisdom sufficient to know the sage. Even had they been ranking themselves low, they would not have demeaned themselves to flatter their favorite.

26. "Now, Tsae Go said, 'According to my view of our Master, he is far superior to Yaou and Shun.'

27. "Tsze-kung said, 'By viewing the ceremonial ordinances of a prince, we know the character of his government. By hearing his music, we know the character of his virtue. From the distance of a hundred ages after, I can arrange, according to their merits, the kings of a hundred ages; not one of them can escape me. From the birth of mankind till now, there has never been another like our Master.'

28. Yiu Jo said, 'Is it only among men that it is so? There is the K'e-lin among quadrupeds; the Fung-hwang among birds, the Thae mountain among mounds and ant-hills, and rivers and seas among rain-pools. Though different in degree, they are the same in kind. So the sages among mankind are also the same in kind. But they stand out from their fellows, and rise above the level, and from the birth of mankind till now there never has been one so complete as Confucius."

CHAPTER III

1. Mencius said, "He who, using force, makes a pretense to benevolence is the leader of the princes. A leader of the princes requires a large kingdom. He who, using virtue, practises benevolence is the sovereign of the empire. To become the sovereign of the empire, a prince need not wait for a large kingdom. Thang did it with only seventy li, and King Wan with only a hundred.

2. "When one by force subdues men they do not submit to him in heart. They submit, because their strength is not adequate to resist. When one subdues men by virtue, in

their hearts' core they are pleased, and sincerely submit, as was the case with the seventy disciples in their submission to Confucius. What is said in the Book of Poetry,

> "'From the west, from the east,
> From the south, from the north,
> There was not one who thought of refusing submission,'

is an illustration of this."

CHAPTER IV

1. Mencius said, "Benevolence brings glory to a prince, and the opposite of it brings disgrace. For the princes of the present day to hate disgrace and yet live complacently doing what is not benevolent, is like hating moisture and yet living in a low situation.

2. "If a prince hates disgrace, the best course for him to pursue is to esteem virtue and honor virtuous scholars, giving the worthiest among them places of dignity, and the able offices of trust. When throughout his kingdom there are leisure and rest from external troubles, taking advantage of such a season, let him clearly digest the principles of his government with its legal sanctions, and then even great kingdoms will be constrained to stand in awe of him.

3. "It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"'Before the heavens were dark with rain,
I gathered the bark from the roots of the mulberry-trees,
And wove it closely to form the window and door of my nest;
Now, I thought, ye people below,
Perhaps ye will not dare to insult me.'

Confucius said, 'Did not he who made this ode understand the way of governing?' If a prince is able rightly to govern his kingdom, who will dare to insult him?

4. "But now the princes take advantage of the time, when throughout their kingdoms there are leisure and rest from external troubles, to abandon themselves to pleasure and indolent indifference; they, in fact, seek for calamities for themselves.

5. "Calamity and happiness in all cases are men's own seeking.

6. "This is illustrated by what is said in the Book of Poetry:

"'Be always studious to be in harmony with the ordinances of God,
So you will certainly get for yourself much happiness';

and by the passage of the Ta'e Kea: 'When Heaven sends down calamities, it is still possible to escape from them; when we occasion the calamities ourselves, it is not possible any longer to live.'"

CHAPTER V

1. Mencius said, "If a ruler give honor to men of talents and virtue and employ the able, so that the offices shall all be filled by individuals of distinction and mark — then all the scholars of the empire will be pleased, and wish to stand in his court.

2. "If, in the market-place of his capital, he levy a ground-rent on the shops but do not tax the goods, or enforce the proper regulations without levying a ground rent, then all the traders of the empire will be pleased, and wish to store their goods in his market-place.

3. "If, at his frontier-passes, there be an inspection of persons, but no taxes charged on goods or other articles, then all the travelers of the empire will be pleased, and wish to make their tours on his roads.

4. "If he require that the husbandmen give their mutual aid to cultivate the public field, and exact no other taxes from them, then all the husbandmen of the empire will be pleased, and wish to plow in his fields.

5. "If from the occupiers of the shops in his market-place he do not exact the fine of the individual idler, or of the hamlet's quota of cloth, then all the people of the empire will be pleased, and wish to come and be his people.

6. "If a ruler can truly practise these five things, then the people in the neighboring kingdoms will look up to him

as a parent. From the first birth of mankind till now, never has any one led children to attack their parent, and succeeded in his design. Thus, such a ruler will not have an enemy in all the empire, and he who has no enemy in the empire is the minister of Heaven. Never has there been a ruler in such a case who did not attain to the imperial dignity."

CHAPTER VI

1. Mencius said, "All men have a mind which can not bear to see the sufferings of others.

2. "The ancient kings had this commiserating mind, and they, as a matter of course, had likewise a commiserating government. When with a commiserating mind was practised a commiserating government, the government of the empire was as easy a matter as the making anything go round in the palm.

3. "When I say that all men have a mind which can not bear to see the sufferings of others, my meaning may be illustrated thus: even nowadays, if men suddenly see a child about to fall into a well, they will without exception experience a feeling of alarm and distress. They will feel so, not as a ground on which they may gain the favor of the child's parents, nor as a ground on which they may seek the praise of their neighbors and friends, nor from a dislike to the reputation of having been unmoved by such a thing.

4. "From this case we may perceive that the feeling of commiseration is essential to man, that the feeling of shame and dislike is essential to man, that the feeling of modesty and complaisance is essential to man, and that the feeling of approving and disapproving is essential to man.

5. "The feeling of commiseration is the principle of benevolence. The feeling of shame and dislike is the principle of righteousness. The feeling of modesty and complaisance is the principle of propriety. The feeling of approving and disapproving is the principle of knowledge.

6. "Men have these four principles just as they have their four limbs. When men, having these four principles, yet say of themselves that they can not develop them, they play

the thief with themselves, and he who says of his prince that he can not develop them, plays the thief with his prince.

7. "Since all men have these four principles in themselves, let them know to give them all their development and completion, and the issue will be like that of fire which has begun to burn, or that of a spring which has begun to find vent. Let them have their complete development, and they will suffice to love and protect all within the four seas. Let them be denied that development, and they will not suffice for a man to serve his parents with."

CHAPTER VII

1. Mencius said, "Is the arrow-maker less benevolent than the maker of armor of defense? And yet, the arrow-maker's only fear is lest men should not be hurt, and the armor-maker's only fear is lest men should be hurt. So it is with the priest and the coffin-maker. The choice of a profession, therefore, is a thing in which great caution is required.

2. "Confucius said, 'It is virtuous manners which constitute the excellence of a neighborhood. If a man, in selecting a residence, do not fix on one where such prevail, how can he be wise?' Now, benevolence is the most honorable dignity conferred by Heaven, and the quiet home in which man should dwell. Since no one can hinder us from being so, if yet we are not benevolent — this is being not wise.

3. "From the want of benevolence and the want of wisdom will ensue the entire absence of propriety and righteousness — he who is in such a case must be the servant of other men. To be the servant of men and yet ashamed of such servitude is like a bow-maker's being ashamed to make bows, or an arrow-maker's being ashamed to make arrows.

4. "If he be ashamed of his case, his best course is to practise benevolence.

5. "The man who would be benevolent is like the archer. The archer adjusts himself and then shoots. If he misses, he does not murmur against those who surpass himself. He simply turns round and seeks the cause of his failure in himself."

CHAPTER VIII

1. Mencius said, "When any one told Tsze-lu that he had a fault, he rejoiced.

2. "When Yu heard good words, he bowed to the speaker.

3. "The great Shun had a still greater delight in what was good. He regarded virtue as the common property of himself and others, giving up his own way to follow that of others, and delighting to learn from others to practise what was good.

4. "From the time when he plowed and sowed, exercised the potter's art, and was a fisherman, to the time when he became emperor, he was continually learning from others.

5. "To take example from others to practise virtue, is to help them in the same practise. Therefore, there is no attribute of the superior man greater than his helping men to practise virtue."

CHAPTER IX

1. Mencius said, "Pih-e would not serve a prince whom he did not approve, nor associate with a friend whom he did not esteem. He would not stand in a bad prince's court, nor speak with a bad man. To stand in a bad prince's court, or to speak with a bad man, would have been to him the same as to sit with his court robes and court cap amid mire and ashes. Pursuing the examination of his dislike to what was evil, we find that he thought it necessary, if he happened to be standing with a villager whose cap was not rightly adjusted, to leave him with a high air, as if he were going to be defiled. Therefore, although some of the princes made application to him with very proper messages, he would not receive their gifts. He would not receive their gifts, counting it inconsistent with his purity to go to them.

2. "Hwuy of Liu-hea was not ashamed to serve an impure prince, nor did he think it low to be an inferior officer. When advanced to employment, he did not conceal his virtue, but made it a point to carry out his principles. When neglected and left without office, he did not murmur. When

straitened by poverty, he did not grieve. Accordingly, he had a saying, 'You are you, and I am I. Although you stand by my side with breast and arms bare, or with your body naked, how can you defile me?' Therefore, self-possessed, he companied with men indifferently, at the same time not losing himself. When he wished to leave, if pressed to remain in office he would remain. He would remain in office when pressed to do so, not counting it required by his purity to go away."

3. Mencius said, "Pih-e was narrow-minded, and Hwuy of Liu-hea was wanting in self-respect. The superior man will not follow either narrow-mindedness or the want of self-respect."

BOOK II.— PART II

CHAPTER I

1. Mencius said, "Opportunities of time vouchsafed by Heaven are not equal to advantages of situation afforded by the Earth, and advantages of situation are not equal to the union arising from the accord of Mencius.

2. "There is a city with an inner wall of three li in circumference, and an outer wall of seven. The enemy surround and attack it, but they are not able to take it. Now, to surround and attack it, there must have been vouchsafed to them by Heaven the opportunity of time, and in such case their not taking it is because opportunities of time vouchsafed by Heaven are not equal to advantages of situation afforded by the Earth.

3. "There is a city whose walls are distinguished for their height, and whose moats are distinguished for their depth, where the arms of its defendants, offensive and defensive, are distinguished for their strength and sharpness, and the stores of rice and other grain are very large. Yet it is obliged to be given up and abandoned. This is because advantages of situation afforded by the Earth are not equal to the union arising from the accord of Men.

4. "In accordance with these principles it is said, 'A

people is bounded in, not by the limits of dikes and borders; a kingdom is secured, not by the strengths of mountains and rivers; the empire is overawed, not by the sharpness and strength of arms.' He who finds the proper course has many to assist him. He who loses the proper course has few to assist him. When this — the being assisted by few — reaches its extreme point, his own relations revolt from the prince. When the being assisted by many reaches its highest point, the whole empire becomes obedient to the prince.

5. "When one to whom the whole empire is prepared to be obedient attacks those from whom their own relations revolt, what must be the result? Therefore, the true ruler will decline to fight; but if he do fight, he must overcome."

CHAPTER II

1. As Mencius was about to go to court to see the king, the king sent a person to him with this message: "I was wishing to come and see you. But I have got a cold, and may not expose myself to the wind. In the morning I will hold my court. I do not know whether you will give me the opportunity of seeing you then." Mencius replied, "Unfortunately, I am unwell, and not able to go to the court."

2. Next day, he went out to pay a visit of condolence to some one of the Tung-kwoh family, when Kung-sun Ch'ow said to him, "Yesterday, you declined going to the court on the ground of being unwell, and to-day you are going to pay a visit of condolence. May this not be regarded as improper?" "Yesterday," said Mencius, "I was unwell; to-day, I am better: why should I not pay this visit?"

3. In the meantime the king sent a messenger to inquire about his sickness, and also a physician. Mang Chung replied to them, "Yesterday, when the king's order came, he was feeling a little unwell, and could not go to court. To-day he was a little better, and hastened to go to court. I do not know whether he can have reached it by this time or not." Having said this, he sent several men to look for Mencius on the way, and say to him, "I beg that, before you return home, you will go to the court."

4. On this, Mencius felt himself compelled to go to King Ch'ow's, and there stop the night. King said to him, "In the family, there is the relation of father and son; abroad, there is the relation of prince and minister. These are the two great relations among men. Between father and son the ruling principle is kindness. Between prince and minister the ruling principle is respect. I have seen the respect of the king to you, Sir, but I have not seen in what way you show respect to him." Mencius replied, "Oh! what words are these? Among the people of Ts'e there is no one who speaks to the king about benevolence and righteousness. Are they thus silent because they do not think that benevolence and righteousness are admirable? No, but in their hearts they say, 'This man is not fit to be spoken with about benevolence and righteousness.' Thus they manifest a disrespect than which there can be none greater. I do not dare to set forth before the king any but the ways of Yaou and Shun. There is therefore no man of Ts'e who respects the king so much as I do."

5. King said, "Not so. That was not what I meant. In the Book of Rites it is said, 'When a father calls, the answer must be without a moment's hesitation. When the prince's order calls, the carriage must not be waited for.' You were certainly going to the court, but when you heard the king's order, then you did not carry your purpose out. This does seem as if it were not in accordance with that rule of propriety."

6. Mencius answered him, "How can you give that meaning to my conduct? The philosopher Tsang said, 'The wealth of Tsin and Ts'u can not be equaled. Let their rulers have their wealth — I have my benevolence. Let them have their nobility — I have my righteousness. Wherein should I be dissatisfied as inferior to them?' Now shall we say that these sentiments are not right? Seeing that the philosopher Tsang spoke them, there is in them, I apprehend, a real principle. In the empire there are three things universally acknowledged to be honorable. Nobility is one of them; age is one of them; virtue is one of them. In courts,

nobility holds the first place of the three; in villages, age holds the first place; and for helping one's generation and presiding over the people, the other two are not equal to virtue. How can the possession of only one of these be presumed on to despise one who possesses the other two?

7. "Therefore a prince who is to accomplish great deeds will certainly have ministers whom he does not call to go to him. When he wishes to consult with them, he goes to them. The prince who does not honor the virtuous, and delight in their ways of doing, to this extent, is not worth having to do with.

8. "Accordingly, there was the behavior of Thang to E-yun: he first learned of him, and then employed him as his minister; and so without difficulty he became emperor. There was the behavior of the Duke Hwan to Kwan Chung: he first learned of him, and then employed him as his minister; and so without difficulty he became chief of all the princes.

9. "Now throughout the empire, the territories of the princes are of equal extent, and in their achievements they are on a level. Not one of them is able to exceed the others. This is from no other reason, but that they love to make ministers of those whom they teach, and do not love to make ministers of those by whom they might be taught.

10. "So did Thang behave to E-yun, and the Duke Hwan to Kwan Chung, that they would not venture to call them to go to them. If Kwan Chung might not be called to him by his prince, how much less may he be called who would not play the part of Kwan Chung!"

CHAPTER III

1. Ch'in Tsin asked Mencius, saying, "Formerly, when you were in Ts'e, the king sent you a present of 2,400 taels of fine silver, and you refused to accept it. When you were in Sung, 1,680 taels were sent to you, which you accepted; and when you were in See, 1,200 taels were sent, which you likewise accepted. If your declining to accept the gift in

the first case was right, your accepting it in the latter case was wrong. If your accepting it in the latter case was right, your declining to do so in the first case was wrong. You must accept, Master, one of these alternatives."

2. Mencius said, "I did right in all the cases.

3. "When I was in Sung, I was about to take a long journey. Travelers must be provided with what is necessary for their expenses. The prince's message was, 'A present against traveling expenses.' Why should I have declined the gift?

4. "When I was in See, I was apprehensive for my safety, and taking measures for my protection. The message was, 'I have heard that you are taking measures to protect yourself, and send this to help you in procuring arms.' Why should I have declined the gift?

5. "But when I was in Ts'e, I had no occasion for money. To send a man a gift when he has no occasion for it is to bribe him. How is it possible that a superior man should be taken with a bribe?"

CHAPTER IV

1. "Mencius having gone to P'ing-luh, addressed the governor of it, saying, "If one of your spearmen should lose his place in the ranks three times in one day, would you, Sir, put him to death or not?" "I would not wait for three times to do so," was the reply.

2. Mencius said, "Well then, you, Sir, have likewise lost your place in the ranks many times. In bad, calamitous years, and years of famine, the old and feeble of your people, who have been found lying in the ditches and water-channels, and the able-bodied, who have been scattered about to the four quarters, have numbered several thousands." The governor replied, "That is a state of things in which it does not belong to me, Keu-sin, to act."

3. "Here," said Mencius, "is a man who receives charge of the cattle and sheep of another, and undertakes to feed them for him; of course he must search for pasture-ground and grass for them. If, after searching for those, he can

not find them, will he return his charge to the owner? or will he stand by and see them die?" "Herein," said the officer, "I am guilty."

4. Another day, Mencius had an audience of the king, and said to him, "Of the governors of your Majesty's cities I am acquainted with five, but the only one of them who knows his faults is K'ung Keu-sin." He then repeated the conversation to the king, who said, "In this matter, I am the guilty one."

CHAPTER V

1. Mencius said to Ch'e Wa, "There seemed to be reason in your declining the governorship of Ling-k'iu, and requesting to be appointed chief criminal judge, because the latter office would afford you the opportunity of speaking your views. Now several months have elapsed, and have you yet found nothing of which you might speak?"

2. On this, Ch'e Wa remonstrated on some matter with the king, and, his counsel not being taken, resigned his office, and went away.

3. The people of Ts'e said, "In the course which he marked out for Ch'e Wa, he did well, but we do not know as to the course which he pursues for himself."

4. His disciple Kun-tu told him these remarks.

5. Mencius said, "I have heard that he who is in charge of an office, when he is prevented from fulfilling its duties, ought to take his departure, and that he on whom is the responsibility of giving his opinion, when he finds his words unattended to, ought to do the same. But I am in charge of no office; on me devolves no duty of speaking out my opinion: may not I therefore act freely and without any constraint, either in going forward or in retiring?"

CHAPTER VI

1. Mencius, occupying the position of a high dignitary in Ts'e, went on a mission of condolence to Thang. The king also sent Wang Hwan, the governor of Ka, as assistant commissioner. Wang Hwan, morning and evening, waited upon

Mencius, who, during all the way to Thang and back, never spoke to him about the business of their mission.

2. Kung-sun Ch'ow said to Mencius, "The position of a high dignitary of Ts'e is not a small one; the road from Ts'e to Thang is not short. How was it that, during all the way there and back, you never spake to Hwan about the matters of your mission?" Mencius replied, "There were the proper officers who attended to them. What occasion had I to speak to him about them?"

CHAPTER VII

1. Mencius went from Ts'e to Lu to bury his mother. On his return to Ts'e, he stopped at Ying, where Ch'ung Yu begged to put a question to him, and said, "Formerly, in ignorance of my incompetency, you employed me to superintend the making of the coffin. As you were then pressed by the urgency of the business, I did not venture to put any question to you. Now, however, I wish to take the liberty to submit the matter. The wood of the coffin, it appeared to me, was too good."

2. Mencius replied, "Anciently, there was no rule for the size of either the inner or the outer coffin. In middle antiquity, the inner coffin was made seven inches thick, and the outer one the same. This was done by all, from the emperor to the common people, and not simply for the beauty of the appearance, but because they thus satisfied the natural feelings of their hearts.

3. "If prevented by statutory regulations from making their coffins in this way, men can not have the feeling of pleasure. If they have not the money to make them in this way, they can not have the feeling of pleasure. When they were not prevented, and had the money, the ancients all used this style. Why should I alone not do so?

4. "And, moreover, is there no satisfaction to the natural feelings of a man, in preventing the earth from getting near to the bodies of his dead?

5. "I have heard that the superior man will not for all the world be niggardly to his parents."

CHAPTER VIII

1. Shin Thung, on his own impulse, asked Mencius, saying, "May Yen be smitten?" Mencius replied, "It may. Tsze-k'wae had no right to give Yen to another man, and Tsze-che had no right to receive Yen from Tsze-k'wae. Suppose there were an officer here, with whom you, Sir, were pleased, and that, without informing the king, you were privately to give to him your salary and rank; and suppose that this officer, also without the king's orders, were privately to receive them from you — would such a transaction be allowable? And where is the difference between the case of Yen and this?"

2. The people of Ts'e smote Yen. Some one asked Mencius, saying, "Is it really the case that you advised Ts'e to smite Yen?" He replied, "No. Shin Thung asked me whether Yen might be smitten, and I answered him, 'It may.' They accordingly went and smote it. If he had asked me —'Who may smite it?' I would have answered him, 'He who is the minister of Heaven may smite it.' Suppose the case of a murderer, and that one asks me —'May this man be put to death?' I will answer him —'He may.' If he ask me —'Who may put him to death?' I will answer him —'The chief criminal judge may put him to death.' But now with one Yen to smite another Yen — how should I have advised this?"

CHAPTER IX

1. The people of Yen having rebelled, the king of Ts'e said, "I feel very much ashamed when I think of Mencius."

2. Ch'in Kea said to him, "Let not your Majesty be grieved. Whether does your Majesty consider yourself or Chow-kung the more benevolent and wise?" The king replied, "Oh! what words are those?" "The Duke of Chau," said Kea, "appointed Kwan-shuh to oversee the heir of Yin, but Kwan-shuh with the power of the Yin State rebelled. If knowing that this would happen he appointed Kwan-shuh, he was deficient in benevolence. If he appointed him, not

knowing that it would happen, he was deficient in knowledge. If the Duke of Chau was not completely benevolent and wise, how much less can your Majesty be expected to be so! I beg to go and see Mencius, and relieve your Majesty from that feeling."

3. Ch'in Kea accordingly saw Mencius, and asked him, saying, "What kind of a man was the Duke of Chau?" "An ancient sage," was the reply. "Is it the fact that he appointed Kwan-shuh to oversee the heir of Yin, and that Kwan-shuh with the State of Yin rebelled?" "It is." "Did the Duke of Chau know that he would rebel, and purposely appoint him to that office?" Mencius said, "He did not know." "Then, though a sage, he still fell into error?" "The Duke of Chau," answered Mencius, "was the younger brother; Kwan-shuh was his elder brother. Was not the error of Chow-kung in accordance with what is right?

4. "Moreover, when the superior men of old had errors, they reformed them. The superior men of the present time, when they have errors, persist in them. The errors of the superior men of old were like eclipses of the sun and moon. All the people witnessed them, and when they had reformed them, all the people looked up to them with their former admiration. But do the superior men of the present day only persist in their errors? They go on to raise apologizing discussions about them likewise."

CHAPTER X

1. Mencius gave up his office, and made arrangements for returning to his native State.

2. The king came to visit him, and said, "Formerly, I wished to see you, but in vain. Then, I got the opportunity of being by your side, and all my court joyed exceedingly along with me. Now again you abandon me, and are returning home. I do not know if hereafter I may expect to have another opportunity of seeing you. Mencius replied, "I dare not request permission to visit you at any particular time, but, indeed it is what I desire."

3. Another day, the king said to the officer She, "I wish

to give Mencius a house, somewhere in the middle of the kingdom, and to support his disciples with an allowance of 10,000 chung, that all the officers and the people may have such an example to reverence and imitate. Had you not better tell him this for me?"

4. She took advantage to convey this message by means of the disciple Ch'in, who reported his words to Mencius.

5. Mencius said, "Yes; but how should the officer She know that the thing may not be? Suppose that I wanted to be rich, having formerly declined 100,000 chung, would my now accepting 10,000 be the conduct of one desiring riches?

6. "Ke-sun said, 'A strange man was Tsze-shuh E. He pushed himself into the service of the government. His prince declining to employ him, he had to retire indeed, but he again schemed that his son or younger brother should be made a high officer. Who indeed is there of men but wishes for riches and honor? But he only, among the seekers of these, tried to monopolize the conspicuous mound.

7. "Of old time, the market-dealers exchanged the articles which they had for others which they had not, and simply had certain officers to keep order among them. It happened that there was a mean fellow, who made it a point to look out for a conspicuous mound, and get up upon it. Thence he looked right and left, to catch in his net the whole gain of the market. The people all thought his conduct mean, and therefore they proceeded to lay a tax upon his wares. The taxing of traders took its rise from this mean fellow."

CHAPTER XI

1. Mencius, having taken his leave of Ts'e, was passing the night in Chow.

2. A person who wished to detain him on behalf of the king, came and sat down, and began to speak to him. Mencius gave him no answer, but leaned upon his stool and slept.

3. The stranger was displeased, and said, "I passed the night in careful vigil, before I would venture to speak to you, and you, Master, sleep and do not listen to me. Allow

me to request that I may not again presume to see you." Mencius replied, "Sit down, and I will explain the case clearly to you. Formerly, if the Duke Muh had not kept a person by the side of Tsze-sze, he could not have induced Tsze-sze to remain with him. If See Liu and Shin Ts'eang had not had a remembrancer by the side of the Duke Muh, he would not have been able to make him feel at home and remain with him.

4. "You anxiously form plans with reference to me, but you do not treat me as Tsze-sze was treated. Is it you, Sir, who cut me? Or is it I, who cut you?"

CHAPTER XII

1. When Mencius had left Ts'e, Yin Sze spake about him to others, saying, "If he did not know that the king could not be made a Thang or a Wu, that showed his want of intelligence. If he knew that he could not be made such, and came notwithstanding, that shows he was seeking his own benefit. He came a thousand li to wait on the king; because he did not find in him a ruler to suit him, he took his leave, but how dilatory and lingering was his departure, stopping three nights before he quitted Chow! I am dissatisfied on account of this."

2. The disciple Kaou informed Mencius of these remarks.

3. Mencius said, "How should Yin Sze know me! When I came a thousand li to wait on the king, it was what I desired to do. When I went away because I did not find in him a ruler to suit me, was that what I desired to do? I felt myself constrained to do it.

4. "When I stopped three nights before I quitted Chow, in my own mind I still considered my departure speedy. I was hoping that the king might change. If the king had changed, he would certainly have recalled me.

5. "When I quitted Chow, and the king had not sent after me, then, and only till then, was my mind resolutely bent on returning to Tsow. But, notwithstanding that, how can it be said that I give up the king? The king, after all, is one who may be made to do what is good. If he were to

use me, would it be for the happiness of the people of Ts'e only? It would be for the happiness of the people of the whole empire. I am hoping that the king will change. I am daily hoping for this.

6. "Am I like one of your little-minded people? They will remonstrate with their prince, and on their remonstrance not being accepted, they get angry, and, with their passion displayed in their countenance, they take their leave, and travel with all their strength for a whole day, before they will stop for the night."

7. When Yin Sze heard this explanation, he said, "I am indeed a small man."

CHAPTER XIII

1. When Mencius left Ts'e, Ch'ung Yu questioned him upon the way, saying, "Master, you look like one who carries an air of dissatisfaction in his countenance. But formerly I heard you say—'The superior man does not murmur against Heaven, nor grudge against men.'"

2. Mencius said, "That was one time, and this is another.

3. "It is a rule that a true Imperial sovereign should arise in the course of five hundred years, and that during that time there should be men illustrious in their generation.

4. "From the commencement of the Chow dynasty till now, more than 700 years have elapsed. Judging numerically, the date is past. Examining the character of the present time, we might expect the rise of such individuals in it.

5. "But Heaven does not yet wish that the empire should enjoy tranquillity and good order. If it wished this, who is there besides me to bring it about? How should I be otherwise than dissatisfied?"

CHAPTER XIV

1. When Mencius left Ts'e, he dwelt in Hiu. There Kung-sun Ch'ow asked him saying, "Was it the way of the ancients to hold office without receiving salary?"

2. Mencius replied, "No; when I first saw the king in

Ts'ung, it was my intention, on retiring from the interview, to go away. Because I did not wish to change this intention, I declined to receive any salary.

3. "Immediately after, came orders for the collection of troops, when it would have been improper for me to beg permission to leave. But to remain so long in Ts'e was not my purpose."

THE BOOK OF DUKE WAN

BOOK III.— PART I

CHAPTER I

1. When the Duke Wan of Thang was Crown-prince, having to go to Ts'u, he went by way of Sung, and visited Mencius.

2. Mencius discoursed to him how the nature of man is good, and, when speaking, always made laudatory reference to Yaou and Shun.

3. When the Crown-prince was returning from Ts'u, he again visited Mencius. Mencius said to him, "Prince, do you doubt my words? The path is one, and only one.

4. "Shing Kan said to the duke king of Ts'e, 'They were men. I am a man. Why should I stand in awe of them?' Yen Yuen said, 'What kind of a man was Shun? What kind of a man am I? He who exerts himself will also become such as he was.' Kung-ming E said, 'King Wan is my teacher. How should the Duke of Chau deceive me by those words?'

5. "Now, Thang, taking its length with its breadth will amount, I suppose, to fifty li. It is small, but still sufficient to make a good kingdom. It is said in the Book of History, 'If medicine do not raise a commotion in the patient, his disease will not be cured by it.'"

CHAPTER II

1. When the Duke Ting of Thang died, the Crown-prince said to Yen Yiu, "Formerly, Mencius spoke with me in Sung, and in my mind I have never forgotten his words. Now, alas! this great duty to my father devolves upon me; I wish to send you to ask the advice of Mencius, and then to proceed to its various services."

2. Yen Yiu accordingly proceeded to Tsow, and consulted

Mencius. Mencius said, "Is this not good? In discharging the funeral duties to parents, men indeed feel constrained to do their utmost. The philosopher Tsang said, 'When parents are alive, they should be served according to propriety; when they are dead, they should be buried according to propriety; and they should be sacrificed to according to propriety — this may be called filial piety.' The ceremonies to be observed by the princes I have not learned, but I have heard these points: that the three years' mourning, the garment of coarse cloth with its lower edge even, and the eating of congee, were equally prescribed by three dynasties, and binding on all, from the emperor to the mass of the people."

3. Yen Yiu reported the execution of his commission, and the prince determined that the three years' mourning should be observed. His aged relatives, and the body of the officers, did not wish that it should be so, and said, "The former princes of Lu, that kingdom which we honor, have, none of them, observed this practise, neither have any of our own former princes observed it. For you to act contrary to their example is not proper. Moreover, the History says: 'In the observances of mourning and sacrifice, ancestors are to be followed,' meaning that they received those things from a proper source to hand them down."

4. The prince said again to Yen Yiu, "Hitherto, I have not given myself to the pursuit of learning, but have found my pleasure in horsemanship and sword-exercise, and now I don't come up to the wishes of my aged relatives and the officers. I am afraid I may not be able to discharge my duty in the great business that I have entered on; do you again consult Mencius for me." On this, Yen Yiu went again to Tsow, and consulted Mencius. Mencius said, "It is so, but he may not seek a remedy in others, but only in himself. Confucius said, 'When a prince dies, his successor entrusts the administration to the prime minister. He sips the congee. His face is of a deep black. He approaches the place of mourning, and weeps. Of all the officers and inferior ministers there is no one who will presume not to join in the lamentation, he setting them this example. What the

superior man loves, his inferiors will be found to love exceedingly. The relations between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and grass. The grass must bend when the wind blows upon it.' The business depends on the prince."

5. Yen Yiu returned with this answer to his commission, and the prince said, "It is so. The matter does indeed depend on me." So for five months he dwelt in the shed, without issuing an order or a caution. All the officers and his relatives said, "He may be said to understand the ceremonies." When the time of interment arrived, from all quarters of the State they came to witness it. Those who had come from other States to condole with him were greatly pleased with the deep dejection of his countenance, and the mournfulness of his wailing and weeping.

CHAPTER III

1. The Duke Wan of Thang asked Mencius about the proper way of governing a kingdom.

2. Mencius said, "The business of the people may not be remissly attended to. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

> "'In the daylight go and gather the grass,
> And at night twist your ropes;
> Then get up quickly on the roofs —
> Soon must we begin sowing again the grain.'

3. "The way of the people is this: If they have a certain livelihood they will have a fixed heart. If they have not a certain livelihood they have not a fixed heart. And if they have not a fixed heart there is nothing which they will not do in the way of self-abandonment, of moral deflection, of depravity, and of wild license. When they have thus been involved in crime, to follow them up and punish them — this is to entrap the people. How can such a thing as entrapping the people be done under the rule of a benevolent man?

4. "Therefore, a ruler who is endowed with talents and virtue will be gravely complaisant and economical, showing

a respectful politeness to his ministers, and taking from the people only in accordance with regulated limits.

5. "Yang Hu said, 'He who seeks to be rich will not be benevolent. He who wishes to be benevolent will not be rich.'

6. "The sovereign of the Hea Dynasty enacted the fifty *mow* allotment, and the payment of a tax. The founder of the Yin enacted the seventy *mow* allotment, and the system of mutual aid. The founder of the Chow enacted the hundred *mow* allotment, and the share system. In reality, what was paid in all these was a tithe. The share system means mutual division. The aid system means mutual dependence.

7. "Lung said, 'For regulating the lands, there is no better system than that of mutual aid, and none which is not better than that of taxing. By the tax system, the regular amount was fixed by taking the average of several years. In good years, when the grain lies about in abundance, much might be taken without its being oppressive, and the actual exaction would be small. But in bad years, the produce being not sufficient to repay the manuring of the fields, this system still requires the taking of the full amount. When the parent of the people causes the people to wear looks of distress, and, after the whole year's toil, yet not to be able to nourish their parents, so that they proceed to borrowing to increase their means, till the old people and children are found lying in the ditches and water-channels — where, in such a case, is his parental relation to the people?'

8. "As to the system of hereditary salaries, that is already observed in Thang.

9. "It is said in the Book of Poetry,

> "'May the rain come down on our public field,
> And then upon our private fields!'

It is only in the system of mutual aid that there is a public field, and from this passage we perceive that even in the Chow Dynasty this system has been recognized.

10. "Establish *ts'eang, seu, heo,* and *heaou* — all those educational institutions — for the instruction of the people.

The name *ts'eang* indicates nourishing as its object; *heaou* indicates teaching; and *seu* indicates archery; By the Hea Dynasty, the name *heaou* was used; by the Yin, that of *seu;* and by the Chow, that of *ts'eang.* As to the *heo,* they belonged to the three dynasties, and by that name. The object of them all is to illustrate the human relations. When those are thus illustrated by superiors, kindly feeling will prevail among the inferior people below.

11. "Should a real sovereign arise, he will certainly come and take an example from you; and thus you will be the teacher of the true sovereign.

12. "It is said in the Book of Poetry,

> "'Although Chow was an old country,
> It received a new destiny.'

That is said with reference to King Wan. Do you practise those things with vigor, and you also will by them make new your kingdom."

13. The duke afterward sent Peih Chen to consult Mencius about the nine-squares system of dividing the land. Mencius said to him, "Since your prince, wishing to put in practise a benevolent government, has made choice of you and put you into this employment, you must exert yourself to the utmost. Now, the first thing toward a benevolent government must be to lay down the boundaries. If the boundaries be not defined correctly, the division of the land into squares will not be equal, and the produce available for salaries will not be evenly distributed. On this account, oppressive rulers and impure ministers are sure to neglect this defining of the boundaries. When the boundaries have been defined correctly, the division of the fields and the regulation of allowances may be determined by you, sitting at your ease.

14. "Although the territory of Thang is narrow and small, yet there must be in it men of a superior grade, and there must be in it countrymen. If there were not men of a superior grade, there would be none to rule the country-

men. If there were not countrymen, there would be none to support the men of superior grade.

15. "I would ask you, in the remoter districts, observing the nine-squares division, to reserve one division to be cultivated on the system of mutual aid, and in the more central parts of the kingdom, to make the people pay for themselves a tenth part of their produce.

16. "From the highest officers down to the lowest, each one must have his holy field, consisting of fifty *mow*.

17. "Let the supernumerary males have their twenty-five *mow*.

18. "On occasions of death, or removal from one dwelling to another, there will be no quitting the district. In the fields of a district, those who belong to the same nine squares render all friendly offices to one another in their going out and coming in, aid one another in keeping watch and ward, and sustain one another in sickness. Thus the people are brought to live in affection and harmony.

19. "A square li covers nine squares of land, which nine squares contain nine hundred *mow*. The central square is the public field, and eight families, each having its private hundred *mow*, cultivate in common the public field. And not till the public work is finished may they presume to attend to their private affairs. This is the way by which the countrymen are distinguished from those of a superior grade.

20. "Those are the great outlines of the system. Happily to modify and adapt it depends on the prince and you."

CHAPTER IV

1. There came from Ts'u to Thang one Heu Hing, who gave out that he acted according to the words of Shin-nung. Coming right to his gate, he addressed the Duke Wan, saying, "A man of a distant region, I have heard that you, Prince, are practising a benevolent government, and I wish to receive a site for a house, and to become one of your people." The Duke Wan gave him a dwelling-place. His disciples, numbering several tens, all wore clothes of haircloth, and made sandals of hemp and wove mats for a living.

2. At the same time, Ch'in Seang, a disciple of Ch'in Leang, and his younger brother, Sin, with their plow-handles and shares on their backs, came from Sung to Thang, saying, "We have heard that you, Prince, are putting into practise the government of the ancient sages, showing that you are likewise a sage. We wish to become the subjects of a sage."

3. When Ch'in Seang saw Heu Hing, he was greatly pleased with him, and, abandoning entirely whatever he had learned, became his disciple. Having an interview with Mencius, he related to him with approbation the words of Heu Hing to the following effect: 'The prince of Thang is indeed a worthy prince. He has not yet heard, however, the real doctrines of antiquity. Now, wise and able princes should cultivate the ground equally and along with their people, and eat the fruit of their labor. They should prepare their own meals, morning and evening, while at the same time they carry on their government. But now, the prince of Thang has his granaries, treasuries, and arsenals, which is an oppressing of the people to nourish himself.— How can he be deemed a real worthy prince?"

4. Mencius said, "I suppose that Heu Hing sows grain and eats the produce. Is it not so?" "It is so," was the answer. "I suppose also he weaves cloth, and wears his own manufacture. Is it not so?" "No. Heu wears clothes of haircloth." "Does he wear a cap?" "He wears a cap." "What kind of a cap?" "A plain cap." "Is it woven by himself?" "No. He gets it in exchange for grain." "Why does Heu not weave it himself?" "That would injure his husbandry." "Does Heu cook his food in boilers and earthenware pans, and does he plow with an iron share?" "Yes." "Does he make those articles himself?" "No. He gets them in exchange for grain."

5. Mencius then said, "The getting those various articles in exchange for grain is not oppressive to the potter and the founder, and the potter and the founder in their turn, in exchanging their various articles for grain, are not oppressive to the husbandman. How should such a thing be supposed? And moreover, why does not Heu act the potter and

founder, supplying himself with the articles which he uses solely from his own establishment? Why does he go confusedly dealing and exchanging with the handicraftsmen? Why does he not spare himself so much trouble?" Ch'in Seang replied, "The business of the handicraftsman can by no means be carried on along with the business of husbandry."

6. Mencius resumed, "Then, is it the government of the empire which alone can be carried on along with the practise of husbandry? Great men have their proper business, and little men have their proper business. Moreover, in the case of any single individual, whatever articles he can require are ready to his hand, being produced by the various handicraftsmen: if he must first make them for his own use, this way of doing would keep the whole empire running about upon the roads. Hence, there is the saying, 'Some labor with their minds, and some labor with their strength. Those who labor with their minds govern others; those who labor with their strength are governed by others. Those who are governed by others support them; those who govern others are supported by them.' This is a principle universally recognized.

7. "In the time of Yaou, when the world had not yet been perfectly reduced to order, the vast waters, flowing out of their channels, made a universal inundation. Vegetation was luxuriant, and birds and beasts swarmed. The various kinds of grain could not be grown. The birds and beasts pressed upon men. The paths marked by the feet of beasts and prints of birds crossed one another throughout the Middle Kingdom. To Yaou alone this caused anxious sorrow. He raised Shun to office, and measures to regulate the disorder were set forth. Shun committed to Yih the direction of the fire to be employed, and Yih set fire to, and consumed, the forests and vegetation on the mountains and in the marshes, so that the birds and beasts fled away to hide themselves. Yu separated the nine streams, cleared the courses of the Tse and Thah, and led them all to the sea. He opened a vent also for the Ju and Han, and regulated the course of the Hwae and Sze, so that they all flowed into the Kiang.

When this was done, it became possible for the people of the Middle Kingdom to cultivate the ground and get food for themselves. During that time Yu was eight years away from his home, and though he thrice passed the door of it, he did not enter. Although he had wished to cultivate the ground, could he have done so?

8. "The minister of agriculture taught the people to sow and reap, cultivating the five kinds of grain. When the five kinds of grain were brought to maturity, the people all enjoyed a comfortable subsistence. Now men possess a moral nature; but if they are well fed, warmly clad, and comfortably lodged, without being taught at the same time, they become almost like the beasts. This was a subject of anxious solicitude to the sage Shun, and he appointed See to be the minister of instruction, to teach the relations of humanity: — how, between father and son, there should be affection; between sovereign and minister, righteousness: between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between old and young, a proper order; and between friends, fidelity. The highly meritorious emperor said to him, 'Encourage them; lead them on; rectify them; straighten them; help them; give them wings — thus causing them to become possessors of themselves. Then follow this up by stimulating them, and conferring benefits on them.' When the sages were exercising their solicitude for the people in this way, had they leisure to cultivate the ground?

9. "What Yaou felt giving him anxiety was the not getting Shun. What Shun felt giving him anxiety was the not getting Yu and Kaou-yaou. But he whose anxiety is about his hundred *mow* not being properly cultivated is a mere husbandman.

10. "The imparting by a man to others of his wealth is called 'a kindness.' The teaching others what is good is called 'the exercise of fidelity.' The finding a man who shall benefit the empire is called 'benevolence.' Hence to give the empire to another man would be easy; to find a man who shall benefit the empire is difficult.

11. "Confucius said, 'Great indeed was Yaou as a sovereign. It is only heaven that is great, and only Yaou corresponded to it. How vast was his virtue. The people could find no name for it. Princely indeed was Shun! How majestic was he, having possession of the empire, and yet seeming as if it were nothing to him!' In their governing the empire, were there no subjects on which Yaou and Shun employed their minds? There were subjects, only they did not employ their minds on the cultivation of the ground.

12. "I have heard of men using the doctrines of our great land to change barbarians, but I have never yet heard of any being changed by barbarians. Ch'in Leang was a native of Ts'u. Pleased with the doctrines of Chow-kung and Chung-ne, he came northward to the Middle Kingdom and studied them. Among the scholars of the northern regions there were perhaps none who excelled him. He was what you call a scholar of high and distinguished qualities. You and your brother followed him some tens of years, and when your master died you have forthwith turned away from him.

13. "Formerly, when Confucius died, after three years had elapsed his disciples collected their baggage and prepared to return to their several homes. But on entering to take their leave of Tsze-kung, as they looked toward one another, they wailed, till they all lost their voices. After this they returned to their homes, but Tsze-kung went back and built a house for himself on the altar-ground, where he lived alone another three years, before he returned home. On another occasion, Tsze-hea, Tsze-chang, and Tsze-yiu, thinking that Yiu Jo resembled the sage, wished to render to him the same observances which they had rendered to Confucius. They tried to force the disciple Tsang to join with them, but he said, 'This may not be done. What has been washed in the waters of the Kiang and Han, and bleached in the autumn sun — how glistening is it! Nothing can be added to it.'

14. "Now here is this shrike-tongued barbarian of the south, whose doctrines are not those of the ancient kings.

You turn away from your master and become his disciple. Your conduct is different indeed from that of the philosopher Tsang.

15. "I have heard of birds leaving dark valleys to remove to lofty trees, but I have not heard of their descending from lofty trees to enter into dark valleys.

16. "In the Praise-songs of Lu it is said,

> "'He smote the barbarians of the west and north,
> He punished King and Seu.'

Thus Chow-kung would be sure to smite them, and you become their disciple again; it appears that your change is not good."

17. Ch'in Seang said, "If Heu's doctrines were followed, then there would not be two prices in the market, nor any deceit in the kingdom. If a boy of five cubits were sent to the market, no one would impose on him; linen and silk of the same length would be of the same price. So it would be with bundles of hemp and silk, being of the same weight; with the different hanks of grain, being the same in quantity; and with shoes which were of the same size."

18. Mencius replied, "It is the nature of things to be of unequal quality. Some are twice, some five times, some ten times, some a hundred times, some a thousand times, some ten thousand times as valuable as others. If you reduce them all to the same standard, that must throw the empire into confusion. If large shoes and small shoes were of the same price, who would make them? For people to follow the doctrines of Heu would be for them to lead one another on to practise deceit. How can they avail for the government of a State?"

CHAPTER V

1. The Mihist, E Che, sought, through Seu Peih, to see Mencius. Mencius said, "I indeed wish to see him, but at present I am still unwell. When I am better I will myself go and see him. E need not come here again."

2. Next day, E Che again sought to see Mencius. Mencius said, "To-day I am able to see him. But if I do not correct his errors, the true principles will not be fully evident. Let me first correct him. I have heard that E is a Mihist. Now Mih considers that in the regulation of funeral matters a spare simplicity should be the rule. E thinks with Mih's doctrines to change the customs of the empire; how does he regard them as if they were wrong, and not honor them? Notwithstanding his views, E buried his parents in a sumptuous manner, and so he served them in the way which his doctrines discountenance."

3. The disciple Seu informed E of these remarks. E said, "Even according to the principles of the learned, we find that the ancients acted toward the people, 'as if they were watching over an infant.' What does this expression mean? To me it sounds that we are to love all without difference of degree; but the manifestation of love must begin with our parents." Seu reported this reply to Mencius, who said, "Now, does E really think that a man's affection for the child of his brother is merely like his affection for the infant of a neighbor? What is to be laid hold of in that expression is simply this: that if an infant crawling about is about to fall into a well, it is no crime in the infant. Moreover, Heaven gives birth to creatures in such a way that they have one root, and E makes them to have two roots. This is the cause of his error.

4. "And, in the most ancient times, there were some who did not inter their parents. When their parents died, they took them up and threw them into some water-channel. Afterward, when passing by them, they saw foxes and wild-cats devouring them, and flies and gnats biting at them. The perspiration started out upon their foreheads, and they looked away, unable to bear the sight. It was not on account of other people that this perspiration flowed. The emotions of their hearts affected their faces and eyes, and instantly they went home, and came back with baskets and spades and covered the bodies. If the covering them thus

was indeed right, you may see that the filial son and virtuous man, in interring in a handsome manner their parents, act according to a proper rule."

5. The disciple Seu informed E of what Mencius had said. E was thoughtful for a short time, and then said, "He has instructed me."

BOOK III.— PART II

CHAPTER I

1. Ch'in Tae said to Mencius, "In not going to wait upon any of the princes, you seem to me to be standing on a small point. If now you were once to wait upon them, the result might be so great that you would make one of them emperor, or, if smaller, that you would make one of them chief of all the other princes. Moreover, the History says, 'By bending only one cubit, you make eight cubits straight.' It appears to me like a thing which might be done."

2. Mencius said, "Formerly the duke king of Ts'e, once when he was hunting, called his forester to him by a flag. The forester would not come, and the duke was going to kill him. With reference to this incident, Confucius said, 'The determined officer never forgets that his end may be in a ditch or stream; the brave officer never forgets that he may lose his head.' What was it in the forester that Confucius thus approved? He approved his not going to the duke, when summoned by the article which was not appropriate to him. If one go to see the princes without waiting to be invited, what can be thought of him?

3. "Moreover, that sentence, 'By bending only one cubit, you make eight cubits straight,' is spoken with reference to the gain that may be got. If gain be the object, then, if it can be got by bending eight cubits to make one cubit straight, may we likewise do that?

4. "Formerly, the officer Chaou Keen made Wang Leang act as charioteer for his favorite He, when, in the course of a whole day, they did not get a single bird. The favorite He

reported this result, saying, 'He is the poorest charioteer in the world.' Some one told this to Wang Leang, who said, 'I beg leave to try again.' By dint of pressing, this was accorded to him, when in one morning they got ten birds. The favorite, reporting this result, said, 'He is the best charioteer in the world.' Keen said, 'I will make him always drive your carriage for you.' When he told Wang Leang so, however, Leang refused, saying, 'I drove for him, strictly observing the proper rules for driving, and in the whole day he did not get one bird. I drove for him so as deceitfully to intercept the birds, and in one morning he got ten. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"'There is no failure in the management of their horses;
The arrows are discharged surely, like the blows of an axe.'

I am not accustomed to drive for a mean man. I beg leave to decline the office.'

5. "Thus this charioteer even was ashamed to bend improperly to the will of such an archer. Though, by bending to it, they would have caught birds and animals enow to form a hill, he would not do so. If I were to bend my principles and follow those princes, of what kind would my conduct be? And you are wrong. Never has a man who has bent himself been able to make others straight."

CHAPTER II

1. King Ch'un said to Mencius, "Are not Kung-sun Yen and Chang E really great men? Let them once be angry, and all the princes are afraid. Let them live quietly, and the flames of trouble are extinguished throughout the empire."

2. Mencius said, "How can such men be great men? Have you not read the 'Ritual Usages'?—'At the capping of a young man, his father admonishes him. At the marriage of a young woman, her mother admonishes her, accompanying her to the door on her leaving, and cautioning her with these words, "You are going to your home. You must be respectful; you must be careful. Do not disobey your

husband.'" Thus to look upon compliance as their correct course is the rule for women.

3. "To dwell in the wide house of the world, to stand in the correct seat of the world, and to walk in the great path of the world; when he obtains his desire for office, to practise his principles for the good of the people; and when that desire is disappointed, to practise them alone; to be above the power of riches and honors to make dissipated, of poverty and mean condition to make swerve from principle, and of power and force to make bend — these characteristics constitute the great man."

CHAPTER III

1. Chow Seaou asked Mencius, saying, "Did superior men of old time take office?" Mencius replied, "They did. The Record says, 'If Confucius was three months without being employed by some sovereign, he looked anxious and unhappy. When he passed from the boundary of a State, he was sure to carry with him his proper gift of introduction.' Kung-ming E said, 'Among the ancients, if an officer was three months unemployed by a sovereign, he was condoled with.'"

2. Seaou said, "Did not this condoling, on being unemployed by a sovereign, show a too great urgency?"

3. Mencius answered, "The loss of his place to an officer is like the loss of his kingdom to a prince. It is said in the Book of Rites, 'A prince plows himself and is assisted by the people, to supply the millet for sacrifice. His wife keeps silk-worms, and unwinds their cocoons, to make the garments for sacrifice.' If the victims be not perfect, the millet not pure, and the dress not complete, he does not presume to sacrifice. 'And the scholar who, out of office, has no holy field, in the same way, does not sacrifice.' The victims for slaughter, the vessels, and the garments, not being all complete, he does not presume to sacrifice, and then neither may he dare to feel happy.' Is there not here sufficient ground also for condolence?"

4. Seaou again asked, "What was the meaning of Con-

fucius's always carrying his proper gift of introduction with him, when he passed over the boundaries of the State where he had been?"

5. "An officer's being in office," was the reply, "is like the plowing of a husbandman. Does a husbandman part with his plow, because he goes from one State to another?"

6. Seaou pursued, "The kingdom of Tsin is one, as well as others, of official employments, but I have not heard of any being thus earnest about being in office. If there should be this urgency about being in office, why does a superior man make any difficulty about the taking it?" Mencius answered, "When a son is born, what is desired for him is that he may have a wife; when a daughter is born, what is desired for her is that she may have a husband. This feeling of the parents is possessed by all men. If the young people, without waiting for the orders of their parents, and the arrangements of the go-between, shall bore holes to steal a sight of each other, or get over the wall to be with each other, then their parents and all other people will despise them. The ancients did indeed always desire to be in office, but they also hated being so by any improper way. To go to get office by an improper way is of a class with young people's boring holes."

CHAPTER IV

1. P'ang Kang asked Mencius, saying, "Is it not an extravagant procedure to go from one prince to another and live upon them, followed by several tens of carriages, and attended by several hundred men?" Mencius replied, "If there be not a proper ground for taking it, a single bamboo-cup of rice may not be received from a man. If there be such a proper ground, then Shun's receiving the empire from Yaou is not to be considered excessive. Do you think it was excessive?"

2. Kang said, "No. But for a scholar performing no service, to receive his support notwithstanding, is improper."

3. Mencius answered, "If you do not have an inter-communication of the productions of labor, and an interchange

of men's services, so that one from his overplus may supply the deficiency of another, then husbandmen will have a superfluity of grain, and women will have a superfluity of cloth. If you have such an interchange, carpenters and carriage-wrights may all get their food from you. Here now is a man, who, at home, is filial, and abroad, respectful to his elders; who watches over the principles of the ancient kings, awaiting the rise of future learners — and yet you will refuse to support him. How is it that you give honor to the carpenter and carriage-wright, and slight him who practises benevolence and righteousness?"

4. P'ang Kang said, "The aim of the carpenter and carriage-wright is by their trades to seek for a living. Is it also the aim of the superior man in his practise of principles thereby to seek for a living?" "What have you to do," returned Mencius, "with his purpose? He is of service to you. He deserves to be supported, and should be supported. And let me ask, Do you remunerate a man's intention, or do you remunerate his service?" To this Kang replied, "I remunerate his intention."

5. Mencius said, "There is a man here who breaks your tiles and draws unsightly figures on your walls; — his purpose may be thereby to seek for his living, but will you indeed remunerate him?" "No," said Kang; and Mencius then concluded, "That being the case, it is not the purpose which you remunerate, but the work done."

CHAPTER V

1. Wan Chang asked Mencius, saying, "Sung is a small State. Its ruler is now setting about to practise the true royal government, and Ts'e and Ts'u hate and attack him. What in this case is to be done?"

2. Mencius replied, "When Thang dwelt in Po, he adjoined to the State of Ko, the chief of which was living in a dissolute condition and neglecting his proper sacrifices. Thang sent messengers to inquire why he did not sacrifice. He replied, 'I have no means of supplying the necessary victims.' On this, Thang caused oxen and sheep to be sent

to him, but he ate them, and still continued not to sacrifice. Thang again sent messengers to ask him the same question as before, when he replied, 'I have no means of obtaining the necessary millet.' On this, Thang sent the mass of the people of Po to go and till the ground for him, while the old and feeble carried their food to them. The chief of Ko led his people to intercept those who were thus charged with wine, cooked rice, millet, and paddy, and took their stores from them, while they killed those who refused to give them up. There was a boy who had some millet and flesh for the laborers, who was thus slain and robbed. What is said in the Book of History, 'The chief of Ko behaved as an enemy to the provision-carriers,' has reference to this.

3. "Because of his murder of this boy, Thang proceeded to punish him. All within the four seas said, 'It is not because he desires the riches of the empire, but to avenge a common man and woman.'

4. "When Thang began his work of executing justice, he commenced with Ko, and though he punished eleven princes, he had not an enemy in the empire. When he pursued his work in the east, the rude tribes in the west murmured. So did those on the north, when he was engaged in the south. Their cry was —'Why does he make us last?' Thus, the people's longing for him was like their longing for rain in a time of great drought. The frequenters of the markets stopped not. Those engaged in weeding in the fields made no change in their operations. While he punished their rulers, he consoled the people. His progress was like the falling of opportune rain, and the people were delighted. It is said in the Book of History, 'We have waited for our prince. When our prince comes, we may escape from the punishments under which we suffer.'

5. "There being some who would not become the subjects of Chow, King Wu proceeded to punish them on the east. He gave tranquillity to their people, who welcomed him with baskets full of their black and yellow silks, saying, 'From henceforth we shall serve the sovereign of our dynasty of Chow, that we may be made happy by him.' So they

joined themselves, as subjects, to the great city of Chow. Thus, the men of station of Shang took baskets full of black and yellow silks to meet the men of station of Chow, and the lower classes of the one met those of the other, with baskets of rice and vessels of congee. Wu saved the people from the midst of fire and water, seizing only their oppressors, and destroying them.

6. "In the Great Declaration it is said, 'My power shall be put forth, and invading the territories of Shang I will seize the oppressor. I will put him to death to punish him — so shall the greatness of my work appear, more glorious than that of Thang.'

7. "Sung is not, as you say, practising true royal government, and so forth. If it were practising royal government, all within the four seas would be lifting up their heads, and looking for its prince, wishing to have him for their sovereign. Great as Ts'e and Ts'u are, what would there be to fear from them?"

CHAPTER VI

1. Mencius said to Tae Puh-shing, "I see that you are desiring your king to be virtuous, and I will plainly tell you how he may be made so. Suppose that there is a great officer of Ts'u here, who wishes his son to learn the speech of Ts'e. Will he in that case employ a man of T'se as his tutor, or a man of Ts'u?" "He will employ a man of T'se to teach him," said Puh-shing. Mencius went on, "If but one man of Ts'e be teaching him, and there be a multitude of men of Ts'u continually shouting out about him, although his father beat him every day, wishing him to learn the speech of Ts'e, it will be impossible for him to do so. But in the same way, if he were to be taken and placed for several years in Chuang or Yoh, though his father should beat him, wishing him to speak the language of Ts'u, it would be impossible for him to do so.

2. "You supposed that See Keu-chow was a scholar of virtue, and you have got him placed in attendance on the king. Suppose that all in attendance on the king, old and

young, high and low, were See Keu-chows, whom would the king have to do evil with? And suppose that all in attendance on the king, old and young, high and low, are not See Keu-chows, whom will the king have to do good with? What can one See Keu-chow do alone for the king of Sung?"

CHAPTER VII

1. Kung-sun Chow asked Mencius, saying, "What is the point of righteousness involved in your not going to see the princes?" Mencius replied, "Among the ancients, if one had not been a minister in a State, he did not go to see the sovereign.

2. "Twan Kan-muh leaped over his wall to avoid the prince. See Liu shut his door and would not admit the prince. These two, however, carried their scrupulosity to excess. When a prince is urgent, it is not improper to see him.

3. "Yang Ho wished to get Confucius to go to see him, but disliked doing so by any want of propriety. As it is the rule, therefore, that when a great officer sends a gift to a scholar, if the latter be not at home to receive it, he must go to the officer's to pay his respects, Yang Ho watched when Confucius was out, and sent him a roasted pig. Confucius, in his turn, watched when Ho was out, and went to pay his respects to him. At that time, Yang Ho had taken the initiative — how could Confucius decline going to see him?

4. "The philosopher Tsang said, 'They who shrug up their shoulders, and laugh in a flattering way, toil harder than the summer laborer in the fields.' Tsze-lu said, 'There are those who talk with people with whom they have no great community of feeling. If you look at their countenances, they are full of blushes. I do not desire to know such persons.' By considering these remarks, the spirit which the superior man nourishes may be known."

CHAPTER VIII

1. Tae Ying-che said to Mencius, "I am not able to present and immediately to do with the levying of a tithe only, and

abolishing the duties charged at the passes and in the markets. With your leave I will lighten, however, both the tax and the duties, until next year, and will then make an end of them. What do you think of such a course?"

2. Mencius said, "Here is a man who every day appropriates some of his neighbor's stray fowls. Some one says to him, 'Such is not the way of a good man'; and he replies, 'With your leave I will diminish my appropriations, and will take only one fowl a month, until next year, when I will make an end of the practise.'

3. "If you know that the thing is unrighteous, then use all dispatch in putting an end to it — why wait till next year?"

CHAPTER IX

1. The disciple Kung-tu said to Mencius, "Master, the people beyond our school all speak of you as being fond of disputing. I venture to ask whether it be so." Mencius replied, "Indeed, I am not fond of disputing, but I am compelled to do it.

2. "A long time has elapsed since this world of men received its being, and there have been along its history now a period of good order, and now a period of confusion.

3. "In the time of Yaou, the waters flowing out of their channels inundated the Middle Kingdom. Snakes and dragons occupied it, and the people had no place where they could settle themselves. In the low grounds they made nests for themselves, and in the high grounds they made caves. It is said in the Book of History, 'The waters in their wild course warned me.' Those 'waters in their wild course' were the waters of the great inundation.

4. "Shun employed Yu to reduce the waters to order. Yu dug open their obstructed channels, and conducted them to the sea. He drove away the snakes and dragons, and forced them into the grassy marshes. On this, the waters pursued their course through the country, even the waters of the Kiang, the Hwae, the Ho, and the Han, and the dangers and obstructions which they had occasioned were removed.

The birds and beasts which had injured the people also disappeared, and after this men found the plains available for them, and occupied them.

5. "After the death of Yaou and Shun, the principles that mark sages fell into decay. Oppressive sovereigns arose one after another, who pulled down houses to make ponds and lakes, so that the people knew not where they could rest in quiet, and threw fields out of cultivation to form gardens and parks, so that the people could not get clothes and food. Afterward, corrupt speakings and oppressive deeds became more rife; gardens and parks, ponds and lakes, thickets and marshes, became more numerous, and birds and beasts swarmed. By the time of Chow, the empire was again in a state of great confusion.

6. "Chow-kung assisted King Wu, and destroyed Chow. He smote Yen, and after three years put its sovereign to death. He drove Fei-leen to a corner by the sea, and slew him. The States which he extinguished amounted to fifty. He drove far away also the tigers, leopards, rhinoceroses, and elephants; and the empire was greatly delighted. It is said in the Book of History, 'Great and splendid were the plans of King Wan! Greatly were they carried out by the energy of King Wu! They are for the assistance and instruction of us who are of an after day. They are all in principle correct, and deficient in nothing.'

7. "Again the world fell into decay, and principles faded away. Perverse speakings and oppressive deeds waxed rife again. There were instances of ministers who murdered their sovereigns, and of sons who murdered their fathers.

8. "Confucius was afraid, and made the 'Spring and Autumn.' What the 'Spring and Autumn' contains are matters proper to the emperor. On this account Confucius said, 'Yes! It is the Spring and Autumn which will make men know me, and it is the Spring and Autumn which will make men condemn me.'

9. "Once more, sage emperors cease to arise, and the princes of the States give the reins to their lusts. Unemployed scholars indulge in unreasonable discussions. The

words of Yang Chu and Mih Teih fill the empire. If you listen to people's discourses throughout it, you will find that they have adopted the views either of Yang or of Mih. Now, Yang's principle is — 'each one for himself,' which does not acknowledge the claims of the sovereign. Mih's principle is —'to love all equally,' which does not acknowledge the peculiar affection due to a father. But to acknowledge neither king nor father is to be in the state of a beast. Kung-ming E said, 'In their kitchens, there is fat meat. In their stables, there are fat horses. But their people have the look of hunger, and on the wilds there are those who have died of famine. This is leading on beasts to devour men.' If the principles of Yang and Mih are not stopped, and the principles of Confucius not set forth, then those perverse speakings will delude the people, and stop up the path of benevolence and righteousness. When benevolence and righteousness are stopped up, beasts will be led on to devour men, and men will devour one another.

10. "I am alarmed by these things, and address myself to the defense of the doctrines of the former sages, and to oppose Yang and Mih. I drive away their licentious expressions, so that such perverse speakers may not be able to show themselves. Their delusions spring up in men's minds, and do injury to their practise of affairs. Shown in their practise of affairs, they are pernicious to their government. When sages shall rise up again they will not change my words.

11. "In former times, Yu repressed the vast waters of the inundation, and the empire was reduced to order. Chow-kung's achievements extended even to the barbarous tribes of the west and north, and he drove away all ferocious animals, and the people enjoyed repose. Confucius completed the 'Spring and Autumn,' and rebellious ministers and villainous sons were struck with terror.

12. "It is said in the Book of Poetry,

> "'He smote the barbarians of the west and north;
> He punished King and Seu;
> And no one dared to resist us.'

These father-deniers and king-deniers would have been smitten by Chow-kung.

13. "I also wish to rectify men's hearts, and to put an end to those perverse doctrines, to oppose their one-sided actions and banish away their licentious expressions — and thus to carry on the work of the three sages. Do I do so because I am fond of disputing? I am compelled to do it.

14. "Whoever is able to oppose Yang and Mih is a disciple of the sages."

CHAPTER X

1. K'wang Chang said to Mencius, "Is not Ch'an Chung a man of true self-denying purity? He was living in Wu-ling, and for three days was without food, till he could neither hear nor see. Over a well there grew a plum-tree, the fruit of which had been more than half-eaten by worms. He crawled to it, and tried to eat some of the fruit, when, after swallowing three mouthfuls, he recovered his sight and hearing."

2. Mencius replied, "Among the scholars of Ts'e, I must regard Chung as the thumb among the fingers. But still, where is the self-denying purity he pretends to? To carry out the principles which he holds, one must become an earthworm, for so only can it be done.

3. "Now, an earthworm eats the dry mold above, and drinks the yellow spring below. Was the house in which Chung dwells built by a Pih-e? or was it built by a robber like Chih? Was the millet which he eats planted by a Pih-e? or was it planted by a robber like Chih? These are things which can not be known."

4. "But," said Chang, "what does that matter? He himself weaves sandals of hemp, and his wife twists hempen threads, to barter them."

5. Mencius rejoined, "Chung belongs to an ancient and noble family of Ts'e. His elder brother Tae received from Ko a revenue of 10,000 *chung,* but he considered his brother's emolument to be unrighteous, and would not eat of it, and in the same way he considered his brother's house to be un-

righteous, and would not dwell in it. Avoiding his brother and leaving his mother, he went and dwelt in Wu-ling. One day afterward, he returned to their house, when it happened that some one sent his brother a present of a live goose. He, knitting his eyebrows, said, 'What are you going to use that cackling thing for?' By and by his mother killed the goose, and gave him some of it to eat. Just then his brother came into the house, and said, 'It's the flesh of that cackling thing,' upon which he went out and vomited it.

6. "Thus, what his mother gave him he would not eat, but what his wife gives him he eats. He will not dwell in his brother's house, but he dwells in Wu-ling. How can he in such circumstances complete the style of life which he professes? With such principles as Chung holds, a man must be an earth-worm, and then he can carry them out."

THE BOOK OF LE LOW

BOOK IV.— PART I

CHAPTER I

1. Mencius said, "The power of vision of Le Low, and skill of hand of Kung-shu, without the compass and square, could not form squares and circles. The acute ear of the music-master K'wang, without the pitch-tubes, could not determine correctly the five notes. The principles of Yaou and Shun, without a benevolent government, could not secure the tranquil order of the empire.

2. "There are now princes who have benevolent hearts, and a reputation for benevolence, while yet the people do not receive any benefits from them, nor will they leave any example to future ages — all because they do not put into practise the ways of the ancient kings.

3. "Hence we have the saying: 'Virtue alone is not sufficient for the exercise of government; laws alone can not carry themselves into practise.'

4. "It is said in the Book of Poetry,

> "'Without transgression, without forgetfulness,
> Following the ancient canons.'

Never has any one fallen into error, who followed the laws of the ancient kings.

5. "When the sages had used the vigor of their eyes, they called in to their aid the compass, the square, the level, and the line, to make things square, round, level, and straight: the use of the instruments is inexhaustible. When they had used their power of hearing to the utmost, they called in the pitch-tubes to their aid to determine the five notes: the use of those tubes is inexhaustible. When they had exerted to the utmost the thoughts of their hearts, they called in to their aid a government that could not endure to witness the

sufferings of men: and their benevolence overspread the empire.

6. "Hence we have the saying: 'To raise a thing high, we must begin from the top of a mound or a hill; to dig to a great depth, we must commence in the low ground of a stream or a marsh.' Can he be pronounced wise, who, in the exercise of government, does not proceed according to the ways of the former kings?

7. "Therefore only the benevolent ought to be in high stations. When a man destitute of benevolence is in a high station, he thereby disseminates his wickedness among all below him.

8. "When the prince has no principles by which he examines his administration, and his ministers have no laws by which they keep themselves in the discharge of their duties, then in the court obedience is not paid to principle, and in the office obedience is not paid to rule. Superiors violate the laws of righteousness, and inferiors violate the penal laws. It is only by a fortunate chance that a kingdom in such a case is preserved.

9. "Therefore it is said, 'It is not the exterior and interior walls being incomplete, and the supply of weapons offensive and defensive not being large, which constitutes the calamity of a kingdom. It is not the cultivable area not being extended, and stores and wealth not being accumulated, which occasions the ruin of a kingdom.' When superiors do not observe the rules of propriety, and inferiors do not learn, then seditious people spring up, and that kingdom will perish in no time.

10. "It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"'When such an overthrow of Chow is being produced by Heaven,
Be not ye so much at your ease!'

11. "'At your ease'; that is, dilatory.

12. "And so dilatory may those officers be deemed, who serve their prince without righteousness, who take office and retire from it without regard to propriety, and who in their words disown the ways of the ancient kings.

13. "Therefore it is said, 'To urge one's sovereign to difficult achievements may be called showing respect for him. To set before him what is good and repress his perversities may be called showing reverence for him. He who does not do these things, saying to himself: My sovereign is incompetent to this, may be said to play the thief with him.'"

CHAPTER II

1. Mencius said, "The compass and square produce perfect circles and squares. By the sages, the human relations are perfectly exhibited.

2. "He who as a sovereign would perfectly discharge the duties of a sovereign, and he who as a minister would perfectly discharge the duties of a minister, have only to imitate — the one Yaou, and the other Shun. He who does not serve his sovereign as Shun served Yaou does not respect his sovereign, and he who does not rule his people as Yaou ruled his injures his people.

3. "Confucius said, 'There are but two courses which can be pursued, that of virtue and its opposite.'

4. "A sovereign who carries the oppression of his people to the highest pitch will himself be slain, and his kingdom will perish. If one stop short of the highest pitch, his life will notwithstanding be in danger, and his kingdom will be weakened. He will be styled 'The dark,' or 'The cruel,' and though he may have filial sons and affectionate grandsons, they will not be able in a hundred generations to change the designation.

5. "This is what is intended in the words of the Book of Poetry,

> "'The beacon of Yin was not remote,
> It was in the time of the sovereign of Hea.'"

CHAPTER III

1. Mencius said, "It was by benevolence that the three dynasties gained the empire, and by not being benevolent that they lost it.

2. "It is by the same means that the decaying and flourishing, the preservation and perishing, of States are determined.

3. "If the emperor be not benevolent, he can not preserve the empire from passing from him. If the sovereign of a State be not benevolent, he can not preserve his kingdom. If a high noble or great officer be not benevolent, he can not preserve his ancestral temple. If a scholar or common man be not benevolent, he can not preserve his four limbs.

4. "Now they hate death and ruin, and yet delight in being not benevolent; this is like hating to be drunk, and yet being strong to drink wine."

CHAPTER IV

1. Mencius said, "If a man love others, and no responsive attachment is shown to him, let him turn inward and examine his own benevolence. If he is trying to rule others, and his government is unsuccessful, let him turn inward and examine his wisdom. If he treats others politely, and they do not return his politeness, let him turn inward and examine his own feeling of respect.

2. "When we do not, by what we do, realize what we desire, we must turn inward, and examine ourselves in every point. When a man's person is correct, the whole empire will turn to him with recognition and submission.

3. "It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"'Be always studious to be in harmony with the ordinances of God,
And you will obtain much happiness.'"

CHAPTER V

Mencius said, "People have this common saying: 'The empire, the State, the family.' The root of the empire is in the State. The root of the State is in the family. The root of the family is in the person of its head."

CHAPTER VI

Mencius said, "The administration of government is not difficult; it lies in not offending the great families. He

whom the great families affect will be affected by the whole State, and he whom any one State affects will be affected by the whole empire. When this is the case, such a one's virtue and teachings will spread over all within the four seas like the rush of water."

CHAPTER VII

1. Mencius said, "When right government prevails in the empire, princes of little virtue are submissive to those of great, and those of little worth to those of great. When bad government prevails in the empire, princes of small power are submissive to those of great, and the weak to the strong. Both these cases are the rule of Heaven. They who accord with Heaven are preserved, and they who rebel against Heaven perish.

2. "The duke king of Ts'e said, 'Not to be able to command others, and at the same time to refuse to receive their commands, is to cut one's self off from all intercourse with others.' His tears flowed forth while he gave his daughter to be married to the prince of Wu.

3. "Now the small States imitate the large, and yet are ashamed to receive their commands. This is like a scholar's being ashamed to receive the commands of his master.

4. "For a prince who is ashamed of this, the best plan is to imitate King Wan. Let one imitate King Wan, and in five years, if his State be large, or in seven years, if it be small, he will be sure to give laws to the empire.

5. "It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"'The descendants of the emperors of the Shang Dynasty
Are in number more than hundreds of thousands,
But, God having passed His decree,
They are all submissive to Chow.
They are submissive to Chow,
Because the decree of Heaven is not unchanging.
The officers of Yin, admirable and alert,
Pour out the libations, and assist in the capital of Chow.'

Confucius said, 'As against so benevolent a sovereign, they

could not be deemed a multitude.' Thus, if the prince of a State love benevolence, he will have no opponent in all the empire.

6. "Now they wish to have no opponent in all the empire, but they do not seek to attain this by being benevolent. This is like a man laying hold of a heated substance, and not having first wetted his hands. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

> "'Who can take up a heated substance,
> Without wetting his hands?'"

CHAPTER VIII

1. Mencius said, "How is it possible to speak with those princes who are not benevolent? Their perils they count safety, their calamities they count profitable, and they have pleasure in the things by which they perish. If it were possible to talk with them who so violate benevolence, how could we have such destruction of kingdoms and ruin of families?

2. "There was a boy singing,

> "'When the water of the Ts'ang-lang is clear,
> It does to wash the strings of my cap;
> When the water of the Ts'ang-lang is muddy,
> It does to wash my feet.'

3. "Confucius said, 'Hear what he sings, my children. When clear, then he will wash his cap-strings, and when muddy, he will wash his feet with it. This different application is brought by the water on itself.'

4. "A man must first despise himself, and then others will despise him. A family must first destroy itself, and then others will destroy it. A kingdom must first smite itself, and then others will smite it.

5. "This is illustrated in the passage of the Thae Kea, 'When Heaven sends down calamities, it is still possible to escape them. When we occasion the calamities ourselves, it is not possible any longer to live.'"

CHAPTER IX

1. Mencius said, "Kee and Chow's losing the empire arose from their losing the people, and to lose the people means

to lose their hearts. There is a way to get the empire: get the people, and the empire is got. There is a way to get the people: get their hearts, and the people are got. There is a way to get their hearts: it is simply to collect for them what they like, and not to lay on them what they dislike.

2. "The people turn to a benevolent rule as water flows downward, and as wild beasts fly to the wilderness.

3. "Accordingly, as the otter aids the deep waters, driving the fish into them, and the hawk aids the thickets, driving the little birds to them, so Kee and Chow aided Thang and Wu, driving the people to them.

4. "If among the present sovereigns of the empire there were one who loved benevolence, all the other princes would aid him, by driving the people to him. Although he wished not to become emperor, he could not avoid becoming so.

5. "The case of one of the present princes wishing to become emperor is like the having to seek mugwort three years old, to cure a seven years' sickness. If it have not been kept in store, the patient may all his life not get it. If the princes do not set their wills on benevolence, all their days will be in sorrow and disgrace, and they will be involved in death and ruin.

6. "This is illustrated by what is said in the Book of Poetry,

> "'How otherwise can you improve the empire?
> You will only with it go to ruin.'"

CHAPTER X

1. Mencius said, "With those who do violence to themselves it is impossible to speak. With those who throw themselves away, it is impossible to do anything. To disown in his conversation propriety and righteousness is what we mean by doing violence to one's self. To say 'I am not able to dwell in benevolence or pursue the path of righteousness,' is what we mean by throwing one's self away.

2. "Benevolence is the tranquil habitation of man, and righteousness is his straight path.

3. "Alas for them who leave the tranquil dwelling empty

and do not reside in it, and who abandon the right path and do not pursue it!"

CHAPTER XI

Mencius said, "The path of duty lies in what is near, and men seek for it in what is remote. The work of duty lies in what is easy, and men seek for it in what is difficult. If each man would love his parents and show the due respect to his elders, the whole empire would enjoy tranquillity."

CHAPTER XII

1. Mencius said, "When those occupying inferior situations do not obtain the confidence of the sovereign they can not succeed in governing the people. There is a way to obtain the confidence of the sovereign: if one is not trusted by his friends, he will not obtain the confidence of his sovereign. There is a way of being trusted by one's friends: if one do not serve his parents so as to make them pleased, he will not be trusted by his friends. There is a way to make one's parents pleased; if one, on turning his thoughts inward finds a want of sincerity, he will not give pleasure to his parents. There is a way to the attainment of sincerity in one's self: if a man do not understand what is good, he will not attain sincerity in himself.

2. "Therefore, sincerity is the way of Heaven. To think how to be sincere is the way of man.

3. "Never has there been one possessed of complete sincerity who did not move others. Never has there been one who had not sincerity who was able to move others."

CHAPTER XIII

1. Mencius said, "Pih-e, that he might avoid Chow, was dwelling on the coast of the northern sea. When he heard of the rise of King Wan, he roused himself, and said, 'Why should I not go and follow him? I have heard that the chief of the West knows well how to nourish the old.' Thae-kung, that he might avoid Chow, was dwelling on the coast of the eastern sea. When he heard of the rise of King Wan, he

roused himself, and said, 'Why should I not go and follow him? I have heard that the chief of the West knows well how to nourish the old.'

2. "Those two old men were the greatest old men of the empire. When they came to follow King Wan, it was the fathers of the empire coming to follow him. When the fathers of the empire joined him, how could the sons go to any others?

3. "Were any of the princes to practise the government of King Wan, within seven years he would be sure to be giving laws to the empire."

CHAPTER XIV

1. Mencius said, "K'ew acted as chief officer to the head of the Ke family, whose evil ways he was unable to change, while he exacted from the people double the grain formerly paid. Confucius said, 'He is no disciple of mine. Little children, beat the drum and assail him.'

2. "Looking at the subject from this case, we perceive that when a prince was not practising benevolent government all his ministers who enriched him were rejected by Confucius: how much more would he have rejected those who are vehement to fight for their prince! When contentions about territory are the ground on which they fight, they slaughter men till the fields are filled with them. When some struggle for a city is the ground on which they fight, they slaughter men till the city is filled with them. This is what is called 'leading on the land to devour human flesh.' Death is not enough for such a crime.

3. "Therefore, those who are skilful to fight should suffer the highest punishment. Next to them should be punished those who unite the princes in leagues; and next to them, those who take in grassy commons, imposing the cultivation of the ground on the people."

CHAPTER XV

1. Mencius said, "Of all the parts of a man's body there is none more excellent than the pupil of the eye. The pupil

can not be used to hide a man's wickedness. If within the breast all be correct, the pupil is bright. If within the breast all be not correct, the pupil is dull.

2. "Listen to a man's words and look at the pupil of his eye. How can a man conceal his character?"

CHAPTER XVI

Mencius said, "The respectful do not despise others. The economical do not plunder others. The prince who treats men with despite and plunders them is only afraid that they may not prove obedient to him: how can he be regarded as respectful or economical? How can respectfulness and economy be made out of tones of the voice, and a smiling manner?"

CHAPTER XVII

1. Shun-yu K'wan said, "Is it the rule that males and females shall not allow their hands to touch in giving or receiving anything?" Mencius replied, "It is the rule." K'wan asked, "If a man's sister-in-law be drowning, shall he rescue her with his hand?" Mencius said, "He who would not so rescue a drowning woman is a wolf. For males and females not to allow their hands to touch in giving and receiving is the general rule; when a sister-in-law is drowning, to rescue her with the hand is a peculiar exigency."

2. K'wan said, "The whole empire is drowning. How strange it is that you will not rescue it!"

3. Mencius answered, "A drowning empire must be rescued with right principles, as a drowning sister-in-law has to be rescued with the hand. Do you wish me to rescue the empire with my hand?"

CHAPTER XVIII

1. Kung-sun Ch'ow said, "Why is it that the superior man does not himself teach his son?"

2. Mencius replied, "The circumstances of the case forbid its being done. The teacher must inculcate what is correct. When he inculcates what is correct, and his lessons are not

practised, he follows them up with being angry. When he follows them up with being angry, then, contrary to what should be, he is offended with his son. At the same time, the pupil says, 'My master inculcates on me what is correct, and he himself does not proceed in a correct path.' The result of this is, that father and son are offended with each other. When father and son come to be offended with each other, the case is evil.

3. "The ancients exchanged sons, and one taught the son of another.

4. "Between father and son there should be no reproving admonitions to what is good. Such reproofs lead to alienation, and than alienation there is nothing more inauspicious."

CHAPTER XIX

1. Mencius said, "Of services which is the greatest? The service of parents is the greatest. Of charges which is the greatest? The charge of one's self is the greatest. That those who do not fail to keep themselves are able to serve their parents is what I have heard. But I have never heard of any, who, having failed to keep themselves, were able notwithstanding to serve their parents.

2. "There are many services, but the service of parents is the root of all others. There are many charges, but the charge of one's self is the root of all others.

3. "The philosopher Tsang, in nourishing Tsang Seih, was always sure to have wine and flesh provided. And when they were being removed, he would ask respectfully to whom he should give what was left. If his father asked whether there was anything left, he was sure to say, 'There is.' After the death of Tsang Seih, when Tsang Yuen came to nourish the philosopher Tsang, he was always sure to have wine and flesh provided. But when the things were being removed, he did not ask to whom he should give what was left, and if his father asked whether there was anything left, he would answer 'No'— intending to bring them in again. This was what is called 'nourishing the mouth and body.'

We may call the philosopher Tsang's practise 'nourishing the will.'

4. "To serve one's parents as the philosopher Ts'ang served his may be accepted as filial piety."

CHAPTER XX

Mencius said, "It is not enough to remonstrate with a sovereign on account of the malemployment of ministers, nor to blame errors of government. It is only the great man who can rectify what is wrong in the sovereign's mind. Let the prince be benevolent, and all his acts will be benevolent. Let the prince be righteous, and all his acts will be righteous. Let the prince be correct, and everything will be correct. Once rectify the prince, and the kingdom will be firmly settled."

CHAPTER XXI

Mencius said, "There are cases of praise which could not be expected, and of reproach when the parties have been seeking to be perfect."

CHAPTER XXII

Mencius said, "Men's being ready with their tongues arises simply from their not having been reproved."

CHAPTER XXIII

Mencius said, "The evil of men is that they like to be teachers of others."

CHAPTER XXIV

1. The disciple Yo-ching went in the train of Tsze-gaou to Ts'e.

2. He came to see Mencius, who said to him, "Are you also come to see me?" Yo-ching replied, "Master, why do you speak such words?" "How many days have you been here?" asked Mencius. "I came yesterday." "Yesterday! Is it not with reason then that I thus speak?" "My lodging-house was not arranged." "Have you heard that a

scholar's lodging-house must be arranged before he visit his elder?"

3. Yo-ching said, "I have done wrong."

CHAPTER XXV

Mencius, addressing the disciple Yo-ching, said to him, "Your coming here in the train of Tsze-gaou was only because of the food and the drink. I could not have thought that you, having learned the doctrine of the ancients, would have acted with a view to eating and drinking."

CHAPTER XXVI

1. Mencius said, "There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them.

2. "Shun married without informing his parents, because of this — lest he should have no posterity. Superior men consider that his doing so was the same as if he had informed them."

CHAPTER XXVII

1. Mencius said, "The richest fruit of benevolence is this — the service of one's parents. The richest fruit of righteousness is this — the obeying one's elder brothers.

2. "The richest fruit of wisdom is this — the knowing those two things, and not departing from them. The richest fruit of propriety is this — the ordering and adorning those two things. The richest fruit of music is this — the rejoicing in those two things. When they are rejoiced in, they grow. Growing, how can they be repressed? When they come to this state that they can not be repressed, then unconsciously the feet begin to dance and the hands to move."

CHAPTER XXVIII

1. Mencius said, "Suppose the case of the whole empire turning in great delight to an individual to submit to him. To regard the whole empire thus turning to him in great delight but as a bundle of grass; only Shun was capable of this. He considered that if one could not get the hearts of

his parents he could not be considered a man, and that if he could not get to an entire accord with his parents he could not be considered a son.

2. "By Shun's completely fulfilling everything by which a parent could be served, Ku-sow was brought to find delight in what was good. When Ku-sow was brought to find that delight, the whole empire was transformed. When Ku-sow was brought to find that delight, all fathers and sons in the empire were established in their respective duties. This is called great filial piety."

BOOK IV.— PART II

CHAPTER I

1. Mencius said, "Shun was born in Chu-fung, removed to Fu-hea, and died in Ming-theaou; a man near the wild tribes on the east.

2. "King Wan was born in Chow by mount K'e, and died in Peih-ying; a man near the wild tribes on the west.

3. "Those regions were distant from one another more than a thousand li, and the age of the one sage was posterior to that of the other more than a thousand years. But when they got their wish, and carried their principles into practise throughout the Middle Kingdom, it was like uniting the two halves of a seal.

4. "When we examine the sages — both the earlier and the later — their principles are found to be the same."

CHAPTER II

1. When Tsze-ch'an was chief minister of the State of Ch'ing, he would convey people across the Tsin and Wei in his own carriage.

2. Mencius said, "It was kind, but showed that he did not understand the practise of government.

3. "When in the eleventh month of the year the foot-bridges are completed, and the carriage-bridges in the twelfth month, the people have not the trouble of wading.

4. "Let a governor conduct his rule on principles of equal

justice, and when he goes abroad he may cause people to be removed out of his path. But how can he convey everybody across the rivers?

5. "It follows that if a governor will try to please everybody, he will find the days not sufficient for his work."

CHAPTER III

1. Mencius said to the King Seuen of Ts'e, "When the prince regards his ministers as his hands and feet, his ministers regard their prince as their belly and heart; when he regards them as his dogs and horses, they regard him as any other man; when he regards them as the ground or as grass, they regard him as a robber and an enemy."

2. The king said, "According to the rules of propriety, a minister wears mourning when he has left the service of a prince. How must a prince behave that his old ministers may thus go into mourning?"

3. Mencius replied, "The admonitions of a minister having been followed, and his advice listened to, so that blessings have descended on the people, if for some cause he leaves the country, the prince sends an escort to conduct him beyond the boundaries. He also anticipates with recommendatory intimations his arrival in the country to which he is proceeding. When he has been gone three years and does not return, only then at length does he take back his fields and residence. This treatment is what is called 'a thrice-repeated display of consideration.' When a prince acts thus, mourning will be worn on leaving his service.

4. "Nowadays, the remonstrances of a minister are not followed, and his advice is not listened to, so that no blessings descend on the people. When for any cause he leaves the country, the prince tries to seize him and hold him a prisoner. He also pushes him to extremity in the country to which he has gone, and on the very day of his departure he takes back his fields and residence. This treatment shows him to be what we call 'a robber and an enemy.' What mourning can be worn for a robber and an enemy?"

CHAPTER IV

Mencius said, "When scholars are put to death without any crime, the great officers may leave the country. When the people are slaughtered without any crime, the scholars may remove."

CHAPTER V

Mencius said, "If the sovereign be benevolent, all will be benevolent. If the sovereign be righteous, all will be righteous."

CHAPTER VI

Mencius said, "Acts of propriety which are not really proper, and acts of righteousness which are not really righteous, the great man does not do."

CHAPTER VII

Mencius said, "Those who keep the Mean train up those who do not, and those who have abilities train up those who have not, and hence men rejoice in having fathers and elder brothers who are possessed of virtue and talent. If they who keep the Mean spurn those who do not, and they who have abilities spurn those who have not, then the space between them — those so gifted and the ungifted — will not admit an inch."

CHAPTER VIII

Mencius said, "Men must be decided on what they will *not* do, and then they are able to act with vigor in what they ought to do."

CHAPTER IX

Mencius said, "What future misery have they and ought they to endure, who talk of what is not good in others!"

CHAPTER X

Mencius said, "Chung-ne did not do extraordinary things."

CHAPTER XI

Mencius said, "The great man does not think beforehand of his words that they may be sincere, nor of his actions that

they may be resolute; he simply speaks and does what is right."

CHAPTER XII

Mencius said, "The great man is he who does not lose his child's-heart."

CHAPTER XIII

Mencius said, "The nourishment of parents when living is not sufficient to be accounted the great thing. It is only in the performing their obsequies when dead that we have what can be considered the great thing."

CHAPTER XIV

Mencius said, "The superior man makes his advances in what he is learning with deep earnestness and by the proper course, wishing to get hold of it as in himself. Having got hold of it in himself, he abides in it calmly and firmly. Abiding in it calmly and firmly, he reposes a deep reliance on it. Reposing a deep reliance on it, he seizes it on the left and right, meeting everywhere with it as a fountain from which things flow. It is on this account that the superior man wishes to get hold of what he is learning as in himself."

CHAPTER XV

Mencius said, "In learning extensively and discussing minutely what is learned, the object of the superior man is that he may be able to go back and set forth in brief what is essential."

CHAPTER XVI

Mencius said, "Never has he who would by his excellence subdue men been able to subdue them. Let a prince seek by his excellence to nourish men, and he will be able to subdue the whole empire. It is impossible that any one should become ruler of the empire to whom it has not yielded the subjection of the heart."

CHAPTER XVII

Mencius said, "Words which are not true are inauspicious, and the words which are most truly obnoxious to the

name of inauspicious are those which throw into the shade men of talents and virtue."

CHAPTER XVIII

1. The disciple Seu said, "Chung-ne often praised water, saying, 'O water! O water!' What did he find in water to praise?"

2. Mencius replied, "There is a spring of water; how it gushes out! It rests not day nor night. It fills up every hole, and then advances, flowing on to the four seas. Such is water having a spring! It was this which he found in it to praise.

3. "But suppose that the water has no spring. In the seventh and eighth months, when the rain falls abundantly, the channels in the fields are all filled, but their being dried up again may be expected in a short time. So a superior man is ashamed of a reputation beyond his merits."

CHAPTER XIX

1. Mencius said, "That whereby man differs from the lower animals is but small. The mass of people cast it away, while superior men preserve it.

2. "Shun clearly understood the multitude of things, and closely observed the relations of humanity. He walked along the path of benevolence and righteousness; he did not need to pursue benevolence and righteousness."

CHAPTER XX

1. Mencius said, "Yu hated the pleasant wine, and loved good words.

2. "Thang held fast the Mean, and employed men of talents and virtue without regard to where they came from.

3. "King Wan looked on the people as he would on a man who was wounded, and he looked toward the right path as if he could not see it.

4. "King Wu did not slight the near, and did not forget the distant.

5. "The Duke of Chau desired to unite in himself the vir-

tues of those kings, those founders of the three dynasties, that he might display in his practise the four things which they did. If he saw anything in them not suited to his time, he looked up and thought about it, from daytime into the night; and when he was fortunate enough to master the difficulty, he sat waiting for the morning."

CHAPTER XXI

1. Mencius said, "The traces of imperial rule were extinguished, and the imperial odes ceased to be made. When those odes ceased to be made, then the Ch'un-Ts'iu was produced.

2. "The Shing of Tsin, the Taou-wuh of Ts'u, and the Ch'un-Ts'iu of Lu, were books of the same character.

3. "The subject of the Ch'un-wuh was the affairs of Hwan of Ts'e and Wan of Tsin, and its style was the historical. Confucius said, 'Its righteous decisions I ventured to make.'"

CHAPTER XXII

1. Mencius said, "The influence of a sovereign sage terminates in the fifth generation. The influence of a mere sage does the same.

2. "Although I could not be a disciple of Confucius himself, I have endeavored to cultivate my virtue by means of others who were."

CHAPTER XXIII

Mencius said, "When it appears proper to take a thing and afterward not proper, to take it is contrary to moderation. When it appears proper to give a thing and afterward not proper, to give it is contrary to kindness. When it appears proper to sacrifice one's life and afterward not proper, to sacrifice it is contrary to bravery."

CHAPTER XXIV

1. Pang Mung learned archery of E. When he had acquired completely all the science of E, he thought that in all the empire only E was superior to himself, and so he slew

him. Mencius said, "In this case E also was to blame. Kung-ming E indeed said, 'It would appear as if he were not to be blamed,' but he thereby only meant that his blame was slight. How can he be held without any blame?"

2. "The people of Ch'ing sent Tsze-cho Yu to make a stealthy attack on Wei, which sent Yu-kung Sze to pursue him. Tsze-cho Yu said, 'To-day I feel unwell, so that I can not hold my bow. I am a dead man!' At the same time he asked his driver, 'Who is it that is pursuing me?' The driver said, 'It is Yu-kung Sze,' on which he exclaimed, 'I shall live.' The driver said, 'Yu-kung Sze is the best archer of Wei, what do you mean by saying — I shall live?' Yu replied, 'Yu-kung Sze learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin-kung T'o is an upright man, and the friends of his selection must be upright also.' When Yu-kung Sze came up, he said, 'Master, why are you not holding your bow?' Yu answered him, 'To-day I am feeling unwell, and can not hold my bow.' On this Sze said, 'I learned archery from Yin-kung T'o, who again learned it from you. I can not bear to injure you with your own science. The business of to-day, however, is the prince's business, which I dare not neglect. He then took his arrows, knocked off their steel-points against the carriage-wheel, discharged four of them, and returned."

CHAPTER XXV

1. Mencius said, "If the lady Se had been covered with a filthy headdress, all people would have stopped their noses in passing her.

2. "Though a man may be wicked, yet if he adjust his thoughts, fast, and bathe, he may sacrifice to God."

CHAPTER XXVI

1. Mencius said, "All who speak about the natures of things have in fact only their phenomena to reason from, and the value of a phenomenon is in its being natural.

2. "What I dislike in your wise men is their boring out their conclusions. If those wise men would only act as Yu

did when he conveyed away the waters, there would be nothing to dislike in their wisdom. The manner in which Yu conveyed away the waters was by doing what gave him no trouble. If your wise men would also do that which gave them no trouble, their knowledge would also be great.

3. "There is heaven so high; there are the stars so distant. If we have investigated their phenomena, we may, while sitting in our places, go back to the solstice of a thousand years ago."

CHAPTER XXVII

1. The officer Kung-hang having on hand the funeral of one of his sons, the Master of the Right went to condole with him. When this noble entered the door, some called him to them and spoke with him, and some went to his place and spoke with him.

2. Mencius did not speak with him, so that he was displeased, and said, "All the gentlemen have spoken with me. There is only Mencius who does not speak to me, thereby slighting me."

3. Mencius, having heard of this remark, said, "According to the prescribed rules, in court, individuals may not change their places to speak with one another, nor may they pass from their ranks to bow to one another. I was wishing to observe this rule, and Tsze-gaou understands it that I was slighting him: is not this strange?"

CHAPTER XXVIII

1. Mencius said, "That whereby the superior man is distinguished from other men is what he preserves in his heart; namely, benevolence and propriety.

2. "The benevolent man loves others. The man of propriety shows respect to others.

3. "He who loves others is constantly loved by them. He who respects others is constantly respected by them.

4. "Here is a man who treats me in a perverse and unreasonable manner. The superior man in such a cease will turn round upon himself, 'I must have been wanting in

benevolence; I must have been wanting in propriety — how should this have happened to me?'

5. "He examines himself, and is specially benevolent. He turns round upon himself, and is specially observant of propriety. The perversity and unreasonableness of the other, however, are still the same. The superior man will again turn round on himself —'I must have been failing to do my utmost.'

6. "He turns round upon himself and proceeds to do his utmost, but still the perversity and unreasonableness of the other are repeated. On this the superior man says, 'This is a man utterly lost indeed! Since he conducts himself so, what is there to choose between him and a brute? Why should I go to contend with a brute?'

7. "Thus it is that the superior man has a lifelong anxiety and not one morning's calamity. As to what is matter of anxiety to him, that he has, he says, 'Shun was a man, and I also am a man. But Shun became an example to the empire, and his conduct was worthy to be handed down to after ages, while I am nothing better than a villager.' This indeed is proper matter of anxiety to him. And in what way is he anxious about it? Just that he may be like Shun; then only will he stop. As to what the superior man would feel to be a calamity, there is no such thing. He does nothing which is not according to propriety. If there should befall him one morning's calamity, the superior man does not account it a calamity."

CHAPTER XXIX

1. Yu and Tseih, in an age of tranquillizing government, thrice passed their doors without entering them. Confucius praised them.

2. The disciple Yen, in an age of confusion, dwelt in a mean narrow lane, having his single bamboo-cup of rice, and his single gourd-dish of water; other men could not have endured the distress, but he did not allow his joy to be affected by it. Confucius praised him.

3. Mencius said, "Yu, Tseih, and Yen Hwuy agreed in the principle of their conduct.

4. "Yu thought that if any one in the empire were drowned, it was as if he drowned him. Tseih thought that if any one in the empire suffered hunger, it was as if he famished him. It was on this account that they were so earnest.

5. "If you and Tseih, and the philosopher Yen, had exchanged places, each would have done what the other did.

6. "Here now in the same apartment with you are people fighting: you ought to part them. Though you part them with your cap simply tied over your unbound hair, your conduct will be allowable.

7. "If the fighting be only in the village or neighborhood, if you go to put an end to it with your cap tied over your hair unbound, you will be in error. Although you should shut your door in such a case, your conduct would be allowable."

CHAPTER XXX

1. The disciple Kung-tu said, "Throughout the whole kingdom everybody pronounces K'wang unfilial. But you, Master, keep company with him, and moreover treat him with politeness. I venture to ask why you do so?"

2. Mencius replied, "There are five things which are said in the common practise of the age to be unfilial. The first is laziness in the use of one's four limbs, without attending to the nourishment of his parents. The second is gambling and chess-playing, and being fond of wine, without attending to the nourishment of his parents. The third is being fond of goods and money, and selfishly attached to his wife and children, without attending to the nourishment of his parents. The fourth is following the desires of one's ears and eyes, so as to bring his parents to disgrace. The fifth is being fond of bravery, fighting and quarreling so as to endanger his parents. Is Chang guilty of any one of these things?"

3. "Now between Chang and his father there arose disagreement, he, the son, reproving his father to urge him what was good.

4. "To urge one another to what is good by reproofs is the way of friends. But such urging between father and

son is the greatest injury to the kindness, which should prevail between them.

5. "Moreover, did not Chang wish to have in his family the relationships of husband and wife, child and mother? But because he had offended his father, and was not permitted to approach him, he sent away his wife, and drove forth his son, and all his life receives no cherishing attention from them. He settled it in his mind that if he did not act in this way, his would be one of the greatest of crimes. Such and nothing more is the case of Chang."

CHAPTER XXXI

1. When the philosopher Tsang dwelt in Wushing, there came a band from Yue to plunder it. Some one said to him, "The plunderers are coming: why not leave this?" Tsang on this left the city, saying to the man in charge of the house, "Do not lodge any persons in my house, lest they break and injure the plants and trees." When the plunderers withdrew, he sent word to him, saying, "Repair the walls of my house. I am about to return." When the plunderers retired, the philosopher Tsang returned accordingly. His disciples said, "Since our master was treated with so much sincerity and respect, for him to be the first to go away on the arrival of the plunderers, so as to be observed by the people, and then to return on their retiring, appears to us to be improper." Shin-yiu Hing said, "You do not understand this matter. Formerly, when Shin-yiu was exposed to the outbreak of the grass-carriers, there were seventy disciples in our master's following, and none of them took part in the matter."

2. When Tsze-sze was living in Wei, there came a band from Ts'e to plunder. Some one said to him, "The plunderers are coming; why not leave this?" Tsze-sze said, "If I go away, whom will the prince have to guard the State with?"

3. Mencius said, "The philosopher Tsang and Tsze-sze agreed in the principle of their conduct. Tsang was a teacher — in the place of a father or elder brother. Tsze-sze was a

minister — in a meaner place. If the philosophers Tsang and Tsze-sze had exchanged places, the one would have done what the other did."

CHAPTER XXXII

The officer Ch'u said to Mencius, "Master, the king sent persons to spy out whether you were really different from other men." Mencius said, "How should I be different from other men! Yaou and Shun were just the same as other men."

CHAPTER XXXIII

1. A man of Ts'e had a wife and a concubine, and lived together with them in his house. When their husband went out, he would get himself well filled with wine and flesh, and then return, and, on his wife's asking him with whom he ate and drank, they were sure to be all wealthy and honorable people. The wife informed the concubine, saying, "When our good man goes out, he is sure to come back having partaken plentifully of wine and flesh. I asked with whom he ate and drank, and they are all, it seems, wealthy and honorable people. And yet no people of distinction ever come here. I will spy out where our good man goes. Accordingly, she got up early in the morning and privately followed wherever her husband went. Throughout the whole city there was no one who stood or talked with him. At last, he came to those who were sacrificing among the tombs beyond the outer wall on the east, and begged what they had over. Not being satisfied, he looked about, and went to another party — and this was the way in which he got himself satiated. His wife returned, and informed the concubine, saying, "It was to our husband that we looked up in hopeful contemplation, with whom our lot is cast for life — and now these are his ways!" On this, along with the concubine she reviled their husband, and they wept together in the middle hall. In the meantime the husband, knowing nothing of all this, came in with a jaunty air, carrying himself proudly to his wife and concubine.

2. In view of a superior man, as to the ways by which men seek for riches, honors, gain, and advancement, there are few of their wives and concubines who would not be ashamed and weep together on account of them.

THE BOOK OF WAN CHANG

BOOK V.— PART I

CHAPTER I

1. Wan Chang asked Mencius, saying, "When Shun went into the fields, he cried out and wept toward the pitying heavens. Why did he cry out and weep?" Mencius replied, "He was dissatisfied, and full of earnest desire."

2. Wan Chang said, "When his parents love him, a son rejoices and forgets them not. When his parents hate him, though they punish him, he does not murmur. Was Shun then murmuring against his parents?" Mencius answered, "Ch'ang Seih asked Kung-ming Kaou, saying, 'As to Shun's going into the fields, I have received your instructions, but I do not know about his weeping and crying out to the pitying heavens and to his parents.' Kung-ming Kaou answered him, 'You do not understand that matter.' Now, Kung-ming Kaou supposed that the heart of the filial son could not be so free of sorrow. Shun would say, 'I exert my strength to cultivate the fields, but I am thereby only discharging my office as a son. What can there be in me that my parents do not love me?'

3. "The emperor caused his own children, nine sons and two daughters, the various officers, oxen and sheep, storehouses and granaries, all to be prepared, to serve Shun amid the channeled fields. Of the scholars of the empire there were multitudes who flocked to him. The emperor designed that Shun should superintend the empire along with him, and then to transfer it to him entirely. But because his parents were not in accord with him, he felt like a poor man who has nowhere to turn to.

4. "To be delighted in by the scholars of the empire is what men desire, but it was not sufficient to remove the sorrow of Shun. The possession of beauty is what men desire,

and Shun had for his wives the two daughters of the emperor, but this was not sufficient to remove his sorrow. Riches are what men desire, and the empire was the rich property of Shun, but this was not sufficient to remove his sorrow. Honors are what men desire, and Shun had the dignity of being emperor, but this was not sufficient to remove his sorrow. The reason why the being the object of men's delight, the possession of beauty, riches, and honors, were not sufficient to remove his sorrow, was that it could be removed only by his getting his parents to be in accord with him.

5. "The desire of the child is toward his father and mother. When he becomes conscious of the attractions of beauty, his desire is toward young and beautiful women. When he comes to have a wife and children, his desire is toward them. When he obtains office, his desire is toward his sovereign: if he can not get the regard of his sovereign, he burns within. But the man of great filial piety, to the end of his life, has his desire toward his parents. In the great Shun I see the case of one whose desire of fifty years was toward them."

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BOOK V.— PART II

CHAPTER VII

1. Wan Chang said, "I venture to ask what principle of righteousness is involved in a scholar's not going to see the princes?" Mencius replied, "A scholar residing in the city is called 'a minister of the market-place and well,' and one residing in the country is called 'a minister of the grass and plants.' In both cases he is a common man, and it is the rule of propriety that common men, who have not presented the introductory present and become ministers, should not presume to have interviews with the prince."

2. Wan Chang said, "If a common man is called to perform any service, he goes and performs it; how is it that a scholar, when the prince, wishing to see him, calls him to his presence, refuses to go?" Mencius replied, "It is right to

go and perform the service; it would not be right to go and see the prince."

3. "And," added Mencius, "on what account is it that the prince wishes to see the scholar?" "Because of his extensive information, or because of his talents and virtue," was the reply. "If because of his extensive information," said Mencius, "such a person is a teacher, and the emperor would not call him — how much less may any of the princes do so? If because of his talents and virtue, then I have not heard of any one wishing to see a person with those qualities, and calling him to his presence.

4. "During the frequent interviews of the Duke Muh with Tsze-sze, he one day said to him, 'Anciently, princes of a thousand chariots have yet been on terms of friendship with scholars; what do you think of such an intercourse?' Tsze-sze was displeased, and said, 'The ancients have said, The scholar should be served: how should they have merely said that he should be made a friend of?' When Tsze-sze was thus displeased, did he not say within himself, 'With regard to our stations, you are sovereign, and I am subject. How can I presume to be on terms of friendship with my sovereign? With regard to our virtue, you ought to make me your master. How may you be on terms of friendship with me?' Thus, when a prince of a thousand chariots sought to be on terms of friendship with a scholar, he could not obtain his wish. How much less could he call him to his presence!

5. "The duke king of Ts'e, once, when he was hunting, called his forester to him by a flag. The forester would not come, and the duke was going to kill him. With reference to this incident Confucius said, 'The determined officer never forgets that his end may be in a ditch or a stream; the brave officer never forgets that he may lose his head.' What was it in the forester that Confucius thus approved? He approved his not going to the duke when summoned by the article which was not appropriate to him."

6. Chang said, "May I ask with what a forester should be summoned?" Mencius replied, "With a skin cap. A common man should be summoned with a plain banner; a

scholar who has taken office, with one having dragons embroidered on it; and a great officer, with one having feathers suspended from the top of the staff.

7. "When the forester was summoned with the article appropriate to the summoning of a great officer, he would have died rather than presume to go. If a common man were summoned with the article appropriate to the summoning of a scholar, how could he presume to go? How much more may we expect this refusal to go, when a man of talents and virtue is summoned in a way which is inappropriate to his character!

8. "When a prince wishes to see a man of talents and virtue, and does not take the proper course to get his wish, it is as if he wished him to enter his palace and shut the door against him. Now, righteousness is the way, and propriety is the door, but it is only the superior man who can follow this way, and go out and in by this door. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

> "'The way to Chow is level like a whetstone,
> And straight as an arrow.
> The officers tread it,
> And the lower people see it.'"

9. Wan Chang said, "When Confucius received the prince's message calling him, he went without waiting for his carriage. And so — did Confucius do wrong?" Mencius replied, "Confucius was in office, and had its appropriate duties. And moreover, he was summoned on the business of his office."

CHAPTER VIII

1. Mencius said to Wan Chang, "The scholar whose virtue is most distinguished in a village shall make friends of all the virtuous scholars in the village. The scholar whose virtue is most distinguished throughout a State shall make friends of all the virtuous scholars of that State. The scholar whose virtue is most distinguished throughout the empire shall make friends of all the virtuous scholars of the empire.

2. "When a scholar feels that his friendship with all the virtuous scholars of the empire is not sufficient to satisfy him, he proceeds to ascend to consider the men of antiquity. He repeats their poems and reads their books, and, as he does not know what they were as men, to ascertain this he considers their history. This is to ascend and make friends of the men of antiquity."

CHAPTER IX

1. The King Suen of Ts'e asked about the office of chief ministers. Mencius said, "Which chief ministers is your Majesty asking about?" "Are there any differences among them?" inquired the king. "There are," was the reply. "There are the chief ministers who are noble and relatives of the prince, and there are those who are of a different surname." The king said, "I beg to ask about the chief ministers who are noble and relatives of the prince." Mencius answered, "If the prince have great faults, they ought to remonstrate with him, and if he do not listen to them after they have done so again and again, they ought to dethrone him."

2. The king on this looked moved, and changed countenance.

3. Mencius said, "Let not your Majesty be offended. You asked me, and I dare not answer but according to truth."

4. The king's countenance became composed, and he then begged to ask about chief ministers who were of a different surname from the prince. Mencius said, "When the prince has faults, they ought to remonstrate with him, and if he do not listen to them after they have done this again and again, they ought to leave the State."

THE BOOK OF KAOU-TZE

BOOK VI.— PART I

CHAPTER I

1. The philosopher Kaou said, "Man's nature is like the ke willow, and righteousness is like a cup or a bowl. The fashioning benevolence and righteousness out of man's nature is like the making cups and bowls from the ke willow."

2. Mencius replied, "Can you, leaving untouched the nature of the willow, make with it cups and bowls? You must do violence and injury to the willow before you can make cups and bowls with it. If you must do violence and injury to the willow in order to make cups and bowls with it, on your principles you must in the same way do violence and injury to humanity in order to fashion from it benevolence and righteousness! Your words, alas! would certainly lead all men on to reckon benevolence and righteousness to be calamities."

CHAPTER II

1. The philosopher Kaou said, "Man's nature is like water whirling round in a corner. Open a passage for it to the east, and it will flow to the east; open a passage for it to the west, and it will flow to the west. Man's nature is indifferent to good and evil, just as the water is indifferent to the east and west."

2. Mencius replied, "Water indeed will flow indifferently to the east or west, but will it flow indifferently up or down? The tendency of man's nature to good is like the tendency of water to flow downward. There are none but have this tendency to good, just as all water flows downward.

3. "Now by striking water and causing it to leap up, you may make it go over your forehead, and, by damming and leading it, you may force it up a hill; but are such movements according to the nature of water? It is the force

applied which causes them. When men are made to do what is not good, their nature is dealt with in this way."

CHAPTER III

1. The philosopher Kaou said, "Life is what is to be understood by nature."

2. Mencius asked him, "Do you say that by nature you mean life, just as you say that white is white?" "Yes, I do," was the reply. Mencius added, "Is the whiteness of a white feather like that of white snow, and the whiteness of white snow like that of a white gem?" Kaou again said, "Yes."

3. "Very well," pursued Mencius. "Is the nature of a dog like the nature of an ox, and the nature of an ox like the nature of a man?"

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BOOK VI.— PART II

CHAPTER XII

Mencius said, "If a scholar have not faith, how shall he take a firm hold of things?"

CHAPTER XIII

1. The prince of Lu wanting to commit the administration of his government to the disciple Yo-ching, Mencius said, "When I heard of it, I was so glad that I could not sleep."

2. Kung-sun Ch'ow asked, "Is Yo-ching a man of vigor?" and was answered, "No." "Is he wise in council?" "No." "Is he possessed of much information?" "No."

3. "What then made you so glad that you could not sleep?"

4. "He is a man who loves what is good."

5. "Is the love of what is good sufficient?"

6. "The love of what is good is more than a sufficient qualification for the government of the empire; how much more is it so for the State of Lu!

7. "If a minister love what is good, all within the four

seas will count 1,000 li but a small distance, and will come and lay their good thoughts before him.

8. "If he do not love what is good, men will say, 'How self-conceited he looks! He is saying to himself, I know it.' The language and looks of that self-conceit will keep men off at a distance of 1,000 li. When good men stop 1,000 li off, calumniators, flatterers, and sycophants will make their appearance. When a minister lives among calumniators, flatterers, and sycophants, though he may wish the State to be well governed, is it possible for it to be so?"

CHAPTER XIV

1. The disciple Ch'in said, "What were the principles on which the superior men of old took office?" Mencius replied, "There were three cases in which they accepted office, and three in which they left it.

2. "If received with the utmost respect and all polite observances, and they could say to themselves that the prince would carry their words into practise, then they took office with him. Afterward, although there might be no remission in the polite demeanor of the prince, if their words were not carried into practise, they would leave him.

3. "The second case was that in which, though the prince could not be expected at once to carry their words into practise, yet being received by him with the utmost respect, they took office with him. But afterward, if there was a remission in his polite demeanor, they would leave him.

4. "The last case was that of the superior man who had nothing to eat, either morning or evening, and was so famished that he could not move out of his door. If the prince, on hearing of his state, said, 'I must fail in the great point — that of carrying his doctrines into practise, neither am I able to follow his words, but I am ashamed to allow him to die of want in my country'; the assistance offered in such a case might be received, but not beyond what was sufficient to avert death."

CHAPTER XV

1. Mencius said, "Shun rose from among the channeled fields. Fu Yue was called to office from the midst of his building frames; Kaou-kih from his fish and salt; Kwan E-wu from the hands of his gaoler; Sun-shuh Gaou from his hiding by the seashore; and Pih-le He from the market-place.

2. "Thus, when Heaven is about to confer a great office on any man, it first exercises his mind with suffering, and his sinews and bones with toil. It exposes his body to hunger, and subjects him to extreme poverty. It confounds his undertakings. By all these methods it stimulates his mind, hardens his nature, and supplies his incompetencies.

3. "Men for the most part err, and are afterward able to reform. They are distressed in mind and perplexed in their thoughts, and then they arise to vigorous reformation. When things have been evidenced in men's looks, and set forth in their words, then they understand them.

4. "If a prince have not about his court families attached to the laws and worthy counselors, and if abroad there are not hostile States or other external calamities, his kingdom will generally come to ruin.

5. "From these things we see how life springs from sorrow and calamity, and death from ease and pleasure."

CHAPTER XVI

Mencius said, "There are many arts in teaching. I refuse, as inconsistent with my character, to teach a man, but I am only thereby still teaching him."

THE BOOK OF TSIN-SIN

BOOK VII.— PART I

CHAPTER I

1. Mencius said, " He who has exhausted all his mental constitution knows his nature. Knowing his nature, he knows Heaven.

2. " To preserve one's mental constitution, and nourish one's nature, is the way to serve Heaven.

3. " When neither a premature death nor long life causes a man any double-mindedness, but he waits in the cultivation of his personal character for whatever issue — this is the way in which he establishes his Heaven-ordained being."

CHAPTER II

1. Mencius said, " There is an appointment for everything. A man should receive submissively what may be correctly ascribed thereto.

2. " Therefore, he who has the true idea of what is Heaven's appointment will not stand beneath a precipitous wall.

3. " Death sustained in the discharge of one's duties may correctly be ascribed to the appointment of Heaven.

4. " Death under handcuffs and fetters can not correctly be so ascribed."

CHAPTER III

1. Mencius said, " When we get by our seeking and lose by our neglecting — in that case seeking is of use to getting, and the things sought for are those which are in ourselves.

2. " When the seeking is according to the proper course, and the getting is only as appointed — in that case the seeking is of no use to getting, and the things sought are without ourselves."

CHAPTER IV

1. Mencius said, " All things are already complete in us.

2. "There is no greater delight than to be conscious of sincerity on self-examination.

3. "If one acts with a vigorous effort at the law of reciprocity, when he seeks for the realization of perfect virtue, nothing can be closer than his approximation to it."

CHAPTER V

1. Mencius said, "To act without understanding and to do so habitually without examination, pursuing the proper path all the life without knowing its nature — this is the way of multitudes."

CHAPTER VI

Mencius said, "A man may not be without shame. When one is ashamed of having been without shame, he will afterward not have occasion for shame."

CHAPTER VII

1. Mencius said, "The sense of shame is to a man of great importance.

2. "Those who form contrivances and versatile schemes distinguished for their artfulness do not allow their sense of shame to come into action.

3. "When one differs from other men in not having this sense of shame, what will he have in common with them?"

CHAPTER VIII

1. Mencius said, "The able and virtuous monarchs of antiquity loved virtue and forgot power. And shall an exception be made of the able and virtuous scholars of antiquity, that they did not do the same? They delighted in their own principles, and were oblivious of the power of princes. Therefore, if kings and dukes did not show the utmost respect, and observe all forms of ceremony, they were not permitted to come frequently and visit them. If they thus found it not in their power to pay them frequent visits, how much less could they get to employ them as ministers?"

CHAPTER IX

1. Mencius said to Sung Kow-ts'een, "Are you fond, Sir,

of traveling to the different courts? I will tell you about such traveling.

2. "If a prince acknowledge you and follow your counsels, be perfectly satisfied. If no one does so, be the same."

3. Kow-ts'een said, "What is to be done to secure this perfect satisfaction?" Mencius replied, "Honor virtue and delight in righteousness, and so you may always be perfectly satisfied.

4. "Therefore, a scholar, though poor, does not let go his righteousness; though prosperous, he does not leave his own path.

5. "Poor and not letting righteousness go — it is thus that the scholar holds possession of himself. Prosperous and not leaving the proper path — it is thus that the expectations of the people are not disappointed.

6. "When the men of antiquity realized their wishes, benefits were conferred by them on the people. If they did not realize their wishes, they cultivated their personal character and became illustrious in the world. If poor, they attended to their own virtue in solitude; if advanced to dignity, they made the whole empire virtuous as well."

CHAPTER X

Mencius said, "The mass of men wait for a King Wan, and then they will receive a rousing impulse. Scholars distinguished from the mass, without a King Wan, rouse themselves."

CHAPTER XI

Mencius said, "Add to a man the families of Han and Wei. If he then look upon himself without being elated, he is far beyond the mass of men."

CHAPTER XII

Mencius said, "Let the people be employed in the way which is intended to secure their ease, and though they be toiled they will not murmur. Let them be put to death in the way which is intended to preserve their lives, and though they die, they will not murmur at him who puts them to death."

CHAPTER XIII

1. Mencius said, "Under a chief, leading all the princes, the people look brisk and cheerful. Under a true sovereign, they have an air of deep contentment.

2. "Though he slay them, they do not murmur. When he benefits them, they do not think of his merit. From day to day they make progress toward what is good, without knowing who makes them do so.

3. "Wherever the superior man passes through, transformation follows; wherever he abides, his influence is of a spiritual nature. It flows abroad above and beneath, like that of Heaven and Earth. How can it be said that he mends society but in a small way!"

CHAPTER XIV

1. Mencius said, "Kindly words do not enter so deeply into men as a reputation for kindness.

2. "Good government does not lay hold of the people so much as good instructions.

3. "Good government is feared by the people, while good instructions are loved by them. Good government gets the people's wealth, while good instructions get their hearts."

CHAPTER XV

1. Mencius said, "The ability possessed by men without having been acquired by learning is intuitive ability, and the knowledge possessed by them without the exercise of thought is their intuitive knowledge.

2. "Children carried in the arms all know to love their parents, and when they are grown a little they all know to respect their elder brothers.

3. "Filial affection for parents is the working of benevolence. Respect for elders is the working of righteousness. There is no other reason for those feelings — they belong to all under heaven."

CHAPTER XVI

Mencius said, "When Shun was living amid the deep retired mountains, dwelling with the trees and rocks, and wandering among the deer and swine, the difference between

him and the rude inhabitants of those remote hills appeared very small. But when he heard a single good word, or saw a single good action, he was like a stream or a river bursting its banks, and flowing out in an irresistible flood."

CHAPTER XVII

Mencius said, "Let a man not do what his own sense of righteousness tells him not to do, and let him not desire what his sense of righteousness tells him not to desire; to act thus is all he has to do."

CHAPTER XVIII

1. Mencius said, "Men who are possessed of intelligent virtue and prudence in affairs will generally be found to have been in sickness and troubles.

2. "They are the friendly minister and concubine's son, who keep their hearts under a sense of peril, and use deep precautions against calamity. On this account they become distinguished for their intelligence."

CHAPTER XIX

1. Mencius said, "There are persons who serve the prince; they served the prince, that is, for the sake of his countenance and favor.

2. "There are ministers who seek the tranquillity of the State, and find their pleasure in securing that tranquillity.

3. "There are those who are the people of Heaven. They, judging that, if they were in office, they could carry out their principles throughout the empire, proceed so as to carry them out.

4. "There are those who are great men. They rectify themselves and others are rectified."

CHAPTER XX

1. Mencius said, "The superior man has three things in which he delights, and to be ruler over the empire is not one of them.

2. "That his father and mother are both alive, and that the condition of his brothers affords no cause for anxiety — this is one delight.

3. "That, when looking up, he has no occasion for shame before Heaven, and, below, he has no occasion to blush before men — this is a second delight.

4. "That he can get from the whole empire the most talented individuals, and teach and nourish them — this is the third delight.

5. "The superior man has three things in which he delights, and to be ruler over the empire is not one of them."

CHAPTER XXI

1. Mencius said, "Wide territory and a numerous people are desired by the superior man, but what he delights in is not here.

2. "To stand in the center of the empire and tranquillize the people within the four seas — the superior man delights in this, but the highest enjoyment of his nature is not here.

3. "What belongs by his nature to the superior man can not be increased by the largeness of his sphere of action, nor diminished by his dwelling in poverty and retirement — for this reason that it is determinately apportioned to him by Heaven.

4. "What belongs by his nature to the superior man are benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge. These are rooted in his heart; their growth and manifestation are a mild harmony appearing in the countenance, a rich fulness in the back, and the character imparted to the four limbs. Those limbs understand to arrange themselves, without being told."

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BOOK VII.— PART II

CHAPTER I

1. Mencius said, "The opposite indeed of benevolent was the King Hwuy of Leang! The benevolent, beginning with what they care for, proceed to what they do not care for. Those who are the opposite of benevolent, beginning with what they do not care for, proceed to what they care for."

2. Kung-sun Ch'ow said, "What do you mean?" Men-

cius answered, "The King Hwuy of Leang, for the matter of territory, tore and destroyed his people, leading them to battle. Sustaining a great defeat, he would engage again, and afraid lest they should not be able to secure the victory, urged his son whom he loved till he sacrificed him with them. This is what I call —'beginning with what they do not care for, and proceeding to what they care for.'"

CHAPTER II

1. Mencius said, "In the 'Spring and Autumn' there are no righteous wars. Instances indeed there are of one war better than another.

2. "'Correction' is when the supreme authority punishes its subjects by force of arms. Hostile States do not correct one another."

CHAPTER III

1. Mencius said, "It would be better to be without the Book of History than to give entire credit to it.

2. "In the 'Completion of the War,' I select two or three passages only, which I believe.

3. "The benevolent man has no enemy under heaven. When the prince the most benevolent was engaged against him who was the most the opposite, how could the blood of the people have flowed till it floated the pestles of the mortars?"

CHAPTER IV

1. Mencius said, "There are men who say, 'I am skilful at marshaling troops, I am skilful at conducting a battle!' They are great criminals.

2. "If the sovereign of a State love benevolence, he will have no enemy in the empire.

3. "When Thang was executing his work of correction in the south, the rude tribes on the north murmured. When he was executing it in the east, the rude tribes on the west murmured. Their cry was, 'Why does he make us last?'

4. "When King Wu punished Yin, he had only three hundred chariots of war, and three thousand life-guards.

5. "The king said, 'Do not fear. Let me give you repose.

I am no enemy to the people! On this, they bowed their heads to the earth, like the horns of animals falling off.'

6. "'Imperial correction' is but another word for rectifying. Each State wishing itself to be corrected, what need is there for fighting?"

CHAPTER V

Mencius said, "A carpenter or a carriage-maker may give a man the circle and square, but can not make him skilful in the use of them."

CHAPTER VI

Mencius said, "Shun's manner of eating his parched grain and herbs was as if he were to be doing so all his life. When he became emperor, and had the embroidered robes to wear, the lute to play, and the two daughters of Yaou to wait on him, he was as if those things belonged to him as a matter of course."

CHAPTER VII

Mencius said, "From this time forth I know the heavy consequences of killing a man's near relations. When a man kills another's father, that other will kill his father; when a man kills another's elder brother, that other will kill his elder brother. So he does not himself indeed do the act, but there is only an interval between him and it."

CHAPTER VIII

1. Mencius said, "Anciently, the establishment of the frontier-gates was to guard against violence.

2. "Nowadays, it is to exercise violence."

CHAPTER IX

Mencius said, "If a man himself do not walk in the right path, it will not be walked in even by his wife and children. If he do not order men according to the right way, he will not be able to get the obedience of even his wife and children."

CHAPTER X

Mencius said, "A bad year can not prove the cause of death to him whose stores of gain are large; an age of corruption can not confound him whose equipment of virtue is complete."

CHAPTER XI

Mencius said, "A man who loves fame may be able to decline a kingdom of a thousand chariots, but if he be not really the man to do such a thing, it will appear in his countenance in the matter of a dish of rice or a platter of soup."

CHAPTER XII

1. Mencius said, "If men of virtue and ability be not confided in, a State will become empty and void.

2. "Without the rules of propriety and distinctions of right, the high and the low will be thrown into confusion.

3. "Without the great principles of government and their various business, there will not be wealth sufficient for the expenditure."

CHAPTER XIII

Mencius said, "There are instances of individuals without benevolence, who have got possession of a single State, but there has been no instance of the whole empire's being got possession of by one without benevolence."

CHAPTER XIV

1. Mencius said, "The people are the most important element in a nation; the spirits of the land and grain are the next; the sovereign is the lightest.

2. "Therefore to gain the peasantry is the way to become emperor; to gain the emperor is the way to become a prince of a State; to gain the prince of a State is the way to become a great officer.

3. "When a prince endangers the altars of the spirits of the land and grain, he is changed, and another appointed in his place.

4. "When the sacrificial victims have been perfect, the millet in its vessels all pure, and the sacrifices offered at their proper seasons, if yet there ensues drought, or the waters overflow, the spirits of the land and grain are changed, and others appointed in their place."

CHAPTER XV

Mencius said, "A sage is the teacher of a hundred generations: this is true of Pih-e and Hwuy of Liu-hea. Therefore when men now hear the character of Pih-e, the corrupt become pure, and the weak acquire determination. When they hear the character of Hwuy of Liu-hea, the mean become generous, and the niggardly become liberal. Those two made themselves distinguished a hundred generations ago, and after a hundred generations, those who hear of them are all aroused in this manner. Could such effects be produced by them, if they had not been sages? And how much more did they affect those who were in contiguity with them, and were warmed by them!"

CHAPTER XVI

Mencius said, "Benevolence is the distinguishing characteristic of man. As embodied in man's conduct, it is called the path of duty."

CHAPTER XVII

Mencius said, "When Confucius was leaving Lu, he said, 'I will set out by-and-by'; this was the way for him to leave the State of his parents. When he was leaving Ts'e, he strained off with his hand the water in which his rice was being rinsed, took the rice, and went away; this was the way for him to leave a strange State."

CHAPTER XVIII

Mencius said, "The reason why the superior man was reduced to straits between Ch'in and Ts'ae was because neither the princes of the time nor their ministers communicated with him."

CHAPTER XIX

1. Mih K'e said, "Greatly am I from anything to depend upon from the mouths of men.

2. "Mencius observed, "There is no harm in that. Scholars are more exposed than others to suffer from the mouths of men.

3. "It is said in the Book of Poetry,

> "'My heart is disquieted and grieved,
> I am hated by the crowd of mean creatures.'

This might have been said by Confucius. And again,

> "'Though he did not remove their wrath,
> He did not let fall his own fame.'

This might be said of King Wan."

CHAPTER XX

Mencius said, "Anciently, men of virtue and talents by means of their own enlightenment made others enlightened. Nowadays, it is tried, while they are themselves in darkness, and by means of that darkness, to make others enlightened."

CHAPTER XXI

Mencius said to the disciple Kaou, "There are the foot-paths along the hills; if suddenly they be used, they become roads; and if, as suddenly they are not used, the wild grass fills them up. Now, the wild grass fills up your mind."

CHAPTER XXII

1. The disciple Kaou said, "The music of Yu was better than that of King Wan."

2. Mencius observed, "On what ground do you say so?" and the other replied, "Because at the pivot the knob of Yu's bells is nearly worn through."

3. Mencius said, "How can that be a sufficient proof? Are the ruts at the gate of a city made by a single two-horsed chariot?"

CHAPTER XXIII

1. When Ts'e was suffering from famine, Ch'in Tsin said to Mencius, "The people are all thinking that you, Master, will again ask that the granary of Thang be opened for them. I apprehend you will not do so a second time."

2. Mencius said, "To do it would be to act like Fung Fu. There was a man of that name in Tsin, famous for his skill in seizing tigers. Afterward, he became a scholar of reputation, and going once out to the wild country, he found the people all in pursuit of a tiger. The tiger took refuge in a corner of a hill, where no one dared to attack him, but when they saw Fung Fu, they ran and met him. Fung Fu immediately bared his arms, and descended from the carriage. The multitude were pleased with him, but those who were scholars laughed at him."

CHAPTER XXIV

1. Mencius said, "For the mouth to desire sweet tastes, the eye to desire beautiful colors, the ear to desire pleasant sounds, the nose to desire fragrant odors, and the four limbs to desire ease and rest — these things are natural. But there is the appointment of Heaven in connection with them, and the superior man does not say of his pursuit of them, 'It is my nature.'

2. "The exercise of love between father and son, the observance of righteousness between sovereign and minister, the rules of ceremony between guest and host, the display of knowledge in recognizing the talented, and the fulfilling the heavenly course by the sage — these are the appointment of Heaven. But there is an adaptation of our nature for them. The superior man does not say, in reference to them, 'It is the appointment of Heaven.'"

CHAPTER XXV

1. Haou-sang Puh-hae asked, saying, "What sort of man is Yo-ching?" Mencius replied, "He is a good man, a real man."

2. "What do you mean by 'A good man,' 'A real man'?"

3. The reply was, "A man who commands our liking is what is called a good man.

4. "He whose goodness is part of himself is what is called a real man.

5. "He whose goodness has been filled up is what is called a beautiful man.

6. "He whose completed goodness is brightly displayed is what is called a great man.

7. "When this great man exercises a transforming influence, he is what is called a sage.

8. "When the sage is beyond our knowledge, he is what is called a spirit-man.

9. "Yo-ching is between the two first characters, and below the four last."

CHAPTER XXVI

1. Mencius said, "Those who are fleeing from the errors of Mih naturally turn to Yang, and those who are fleeing from the errors of Yang naturally turn to orthodoxy. When they so turn, they should at once and simply be received.

2. "Those who nowadays dispute with the followers of Yang and Mih do so as if they were pursuing a stray pig, the leg of which after they have got it to enter the pen, they proceed to tie.

CHAPTER XXVII

Mencius said, "There are the exactions of hempen-cloth and silk, of grain, and of personal service. The prince requires but one of these at once, deferring the other two. If he require two of them at once, then the people die of hunger. If he require the three at once, then fathers and sons are separated."

CHAPTER XXVIII

Mencius said, "The precious things of a prince are three — the territory, the people, the government and its business. If one value as most precious pearls and stones, calamity is sure to befall him."

CHAPTER XXIX

P'un-shing Kwoh having obtained an official situation in Ts'e, Mencius said, "He is a dead man — P'un-shing Kwoh!" P'un-shing Kwoh being put to death, the disciples asked, saying, "How did you know, Master, that he would meet with death?" Mencius replied, "He was a man who had a little ability, but had not learned the great doctrines of the superior man. He was just qualified to bring death upon himself, but for nothing more."

CHAPTER XXX

1. When Mencius went to Thang, he was lodged in the upper palace. A sandal in the process of making had been placed there in a window, and when the keeper of the place came to look for it he could not find it.

2. On this, some one asked Mencius, saying, "Is it thus that your followers pilfer?" Mencius replied, "Do you think that they came here to pilfer the sandal?" The man said, "I apprehend not. But you, Master, having arranged to give lessons, do not go back to inquire into the past, and you do not reject those who come to you. If they come with the mind to learn, you receive them without any more ado."

CHAPTER XXXI

1. Mencius said, "All men have some things which they can not bear; extend that feeling to what they can bear, and benevolence will be the result. All men have some things which they will not do; extend that feeling to the things which they do, and righteousness will be the result."

2. "If a man can give full development to the feeling which makes him shrink from injuring others, his benevolence will be more than can be called into practise. If he can give full development to the feeling which refuses to break through, or jump over, a wall, his righteousness will be more than can be called into practise.

3. "If he can give full development to the real feeling of dislike with which he receives the salutation, 'Thou,'

'Thou,' he will act righteously in all places and circumstances.

4. "When a scholar speaks what he ought not to speak, by guile of speech seeking to gain some end; and when he does not speak what he ought to speak, by guile of silence seeking to gain some end — both these cases are of a piece with breaking through a neighbor's wall."

CHAPTER XXXII

1. Mencius said, "Words which are simple, while their meaning is far-reaching, are good words. Principles which, as held, are compendious, while their application is extensive, are good principles. The words of the superior man do not go below the girdle, but great principles are contained in them.

2. "The principle which the superior man holds is that of personal cultivation, but the empire is thereby tranquillized."

3. "The disease of men is this: that they neglect their own fields, and go to weed the fields of others, and that what they require from others is great, while what they lay upon themselves is light."

CHAPTER XXXIII

1. Mencius said, "Yaou and Shun were what they were by nature; Thang and Wu were so by returning to natural virtue.

2. "When all the movements, in the countenance and every turn of the body, are exactly what is proper, that shows the extreme degree of the complete virtue. Weeping for the dead should be from real sorrow, and not because of the living. The regular path of virtue is to be pursued without any bend, and from no view to emolument. The words should all be necessarily sincere, not with any desire to do what is right.

3. "The superior man performs the law of right, in order that he may wait simply for what has been appointed."

CHAPTER XXXIV

1. Mencius said, "Those who give counsel to the great should despise them, and not look at their pomp and display.

2. "Halls several times eight cubits high, with beams projecting several cubits — these, if my wishes were to be realized, I would not have. Food spread before me over ten cubits square, and attendant girls to the amount of hundreds — these, though my wishes were realized, I would not have. Pleasure and wine, and the dash of hunting, with thousands of chariots following after me — these, though my wishes were realized, I would not have. What they esteem are what I would have nothing to do with; what I esteem are the rules of the ancients. Why should I stand in awe of them?"

CHAPTER XXXV

Mencius said, "To nourish the heart there is nothing better than to make the desires few. Here is a man whose desires are few: in some things he may not be able to keep his heart, but they will be few. Here is a man whose desires are many: in some things he may be able to keep his heart, but they will be few."

CHAPTER XXXVI

1. Mencius said, "Tsang Seih was fond of sheep-dates, and his son, the philosopher Tsang, could not bear to eat sheep-dates."

2. Kung-sun Ch'ow asked, saying, "Which is best — minced meat and roasted meat, or sheep-dates?" Mencius said, "Mince and roasted meat, to be sure." Kung-sun Ch'ow went on, "Then why did the philosopher Tsang eat mince and roast-meat, while he would not eat sheep-dates?" Mencius answered, "For mince and roast sheep-meat there is a common liking, while that for sheep-dates was peculiar. We avoid the name, but do not avoid the surname. The surname is common; the name is peculiar."

CHAPTER XXXVII

1. Wan Chang asked, saying, "Confucius, when he was in Ch'in, said, 'Let me return. The scholars of my school are ambitious but hasty. They are for advancing and seizing their object, but can not forget their early ways.' Why did

Confucius, when he was in Ch'in, think of the ambitious scholars of Lu?"

2. Mencius replied, "Confucius not getting men pursuing the true medium, to whom he might communicate his instructions, determined to take the ardent and the cautiously decided. The ardent would advance to seize their object; the cautiously decided would keep themselves from certain things. It is not to be thought that Confucius did not wish to get men pursuing the true medium, but being unable to assure himself of finding such, he therefore thought of the next class."

3. "I venture to ask what sort of men they were who could be styled 'The ambitious'?"

4. "Such," replied Mencius, "as K'in Chang, Tsang Seih, and Muh P'ei, were those whom Confucius styled 'ambitious.'"

5. "Why were they styled 'ambitious'?"

6. The reply was, "Their aim led them to talk magniloquently, saying, 'The ancients!' 'The ancients!' But their actions, compared with their words, did not come up to them.

7. "When he found also that he could not get such as were thus ambitious, he wanted to get scholars who would consider anything impure as beneath them. Those were the cautiously decided — a class next to the former."

8. Chang pursued his questioning, "Confucius said, 'They are only your good careful people of the villages at whom I feel no indignation, when they pass my door without entering my house. Your good careful people of the villages are the thieves of virtue.' What sort of people were they who could be styled 'Your good careful people of the villages'?"

9. Mencius replied, "They are those who say, 'Why are they so magniloquent? Their words have not respect to their actions, and their actions have not respect to their words, but they say, The ancients! The ancients! Why do they act so peculiarly, and are so cold and distant? Born in this age, we should be of this age; to be good is all that is needed.'

Eunuch-like, flattering their generation — such are your good careful men of the villages."

10. Wan Chang said, "Their whole village styles those men good and careful. In all their conduct they are so. How was it that Confucius considered them the thieves of virtue?"

11. Mencius replied, "If you would blame them, you find nothing to allege. If you would criticize them, you have nothing to criticize. They agree with the current customs. They consent with an impure age. Their principles have a semblance of right-heartedness and truth. Their conduct has a semblance of disinterestedness and purity. All men are pleased with them, and they think themselves right, so that it is impossible to proceed with them to the principles of Yaou and Shun. On this account they are called, 'The thieves of virtue.'

12. "Confucius said, 'I hate a semblance which is not the reality. I hate the darnel, lest it be confounded with the corn. I hate glib-tonguedness, lest it be confounded with righteousness. I hate sharpness of tongue, lest it be confounded with sincerity. I hate the music of Ch'ing, lest it be confounded with the true music. I hate the reddish blue, lest it be confounded with vermilion. I hate your good careful men of the villages, lest they be confounded with the truly virtuous.'

13. "The superior man seeks simply to bring back the unchanging standard, and that, being rectified, the masses are roused to virtue. When they are so aroused, forthwith perversities and glossed wickedness disappear."

CHAPTER XXXVIII

1. Mencius said, "From Yaou and Shun down to Thang were 500 years and more. As to Yu and Kaou-yaou, they saw those earliest sages, and so knew their doctrines, while Thang heard their doctrines as transmitted, and so knew them.

2. "From Thang to King Wan were 500 years and more. As to E Yin, and Lae Chu, they saw Thang and knew his

doctrines, while King Wan heard them as transmitted, and so knew them.

3. "From King Wan to Confucius were 500 years and more. As to Thae-kung Wang and San E-sang, they saw Wan, and so knew his doctrines, while Confucius heard them as transmitted, and so knew them.

4. "From Confucius downward until now there are only 100 years and somewhat more. The distance in time from the sage is so far from being remote, and so very near at hand was the sage's residence. In these circumstances, is there no one to transmit his doctrines? Yea, is there no one to do so?"

END OF THE WORKS OF MENCIUS

THE NESTORIAN TABLET

TRANSLATED BY REV. A. WYLIE

"Right principles have no invariable name. . . . Having examined the principles of this religion [Christianity] we find them to be purely excellent and natural; investigating its originating source we find it has taken its rise from the establishment of important truths; its ritual is free from perplexing expressions, its principles will survive when the framework is forgot."

— CHINESE IMPERIAL EDICT PERMITTING THE PREACHING OF THE NESTORIANS.

THE NESTORIAN TABLET

(INTRODUCTION)

THIS remarkable record of the fact that Christianity flourished in medieval China is a huge stone about ten feet high. Carven dragons and a cross adorn its summit, and its main shaft is completely covered with some two thousand Chinese characters. It stands now in the Peilin or "Forest of Tablets" in Sian-fu, this Peilin being a great hall specially devoted to the preservation of old historic tablets. Up to a few years ago the ancient stone stood with other unvalued monuments in the grounds of a Buddhist monastery, exposed to all the assault of the elements. Only European urgence has led to its being preserved in the Peilin.

The Nestorian sect of Christians still exists in Western Asia and was in a thriving condition in Syria in the sixth century. It sent missionaries widely over Asia. Marco Polo recorded having found Christian churches in China; and Roman Catholic missionaries of later centuries found there a few Nestorians still practising a debased form of their half-forgotten faith. This much concerning the Nestorian Christianity in China we have long known. Then, with the modern opening of the empire, the old Nestorian stone was found. It tells its own history, and tells it plainly, how the Nestorian monks came, how Chinese officials were appointed to listen to their explanations, and gravely approved of the new religion as having "excellent principles." Various emperors accepted, or at least included, Christianity among their religions; and the faith prospered, and had many thousands of followers, and in the year A.D. 781 erected this stone in commemoration of its triumphs.

Now, alas, only the stone remains. The record of the sect's decay has needed no stone to make it manifest. Nestorian Christianity, shut off from its mother land by the rise of the Mohammedan powers in between, proved unable to resist the inroads of ignorance and superstition and changing political affairs. It degenerated and disappeared.

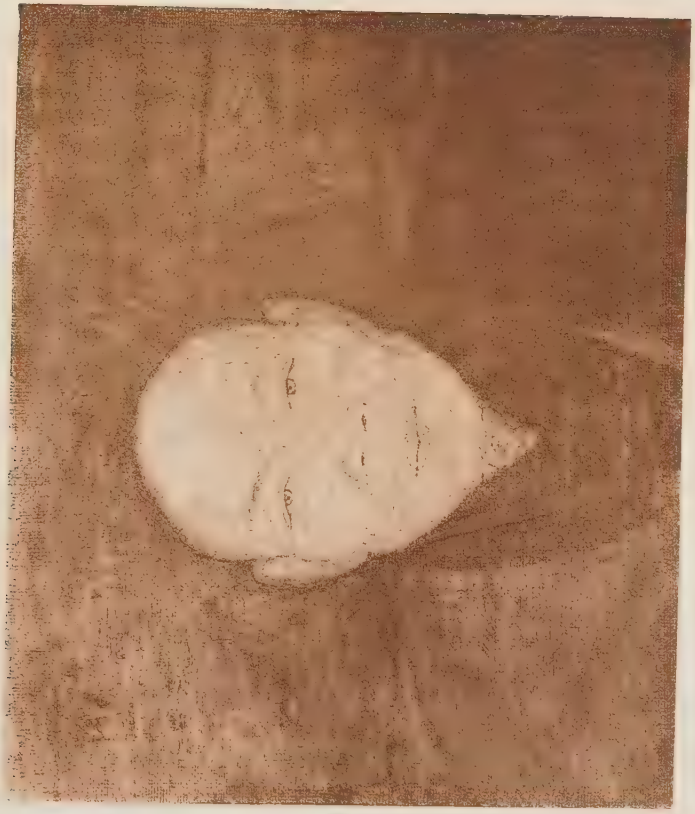
THE NESTORIAN TABLET

TABLET EULOGIZING THE PROPAGATION OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS RELIGION IN CHINA, WITH A PREFACE; COMPOSED BY KING-TSING, A PRIEST OF THE SYRIAN CHURCH

Behold the unchangeably true and invisible, who existed through all eternity without origin; the far-seeing perfect intelligence, whose mysterious existence is everlasting; operating on primordial substance he created the universe, being more excellent than all holy intelligences, inasmuch as he is the source of all that is honorable. This is our eternal true lord God, triune and mysterious in substance. He appointed the cross as the means for determining the four cardinal points, he moved the original spirit, and produced the two principles of nature; the somber void was changed, and heaven and earth were opened out; the sun and moon revolved, and day and night commenced; having perfected all inferior objects, he then made the first man; upon him he bestowed an excellent disposition, giving him in charge the government of all created beings; man, acting out the original principles of his nature, was pure and unostentatious; his unsullied and expansive mind was free from the least inordinate desire; until Satan introduced the seeds of falsehood, to deteriorate his purity of principle; the opening thus commenced in his virtue gradually enlarged, and by this crevice in his nature was obscured and rendered vicious; hence three hundred and sixty-five sects followed each other in continuous track, inventing every species of doctrinal complexity; while some pointed to material objects as the source of their faith, others reduced all to vacancy, even to the annihilation of the two primeval principles, some sought to call down blessings by prayers and supplications, while others by an assumption of excellence held themselves up as superior to their fellows; their intellects and thoughts continually wavering, their minds and affections incessantly on the move, they never ob-

A CHINESE PRIEST.

From a medieval print.



tained their vast desires, but being exhausted and distressed they revolved in their own heated atmosphere; till by an accumulation of obscurity they lost their path, and after long groping in darkness they were unable to return. Thereupon, our Trinity being divided in nature, the illustrious and honorable Messiah, veiling his true dignity, appeared in the world as a man; angelic powers promulgated the glad tidings, a virgin gave birth to the Holy One in Syria; a bright star announced the felicitous event, and Persians [1] observing the splendor came to present tribute; the ancient dispensation, as declared by the twenty-four holy men,[2] was then fulfilled, and he laid down great principles for the government of families and kingdoms; he established the new religion of the silent operation of the pure spirit of the Triune; he rendered virtue subservient to direct faith; he fixed the extent of the eight boundaries,[3] thus completing the truth and freeing it from dross; he opened the gate of the three constant principles,[4] introducing life and destroying death; he suspended the bright sun to invade the chambers of darkness, and the falsehoods of the devil were thereupon defeated; he set in motion the vessel of mercy by which to ascend to the bright mansions, whereupon rational beings were then released, having thus completed the manifestation of his power, in clear day he ascended to his true station. Twenty-seven sacred books [5] have been left, which disseminate intelligence by unfolding the original transforming principles. By the rule for admission, it is the custom to apply the water of bap-

[1] *Po-sz'*, "Persians." This name was well known to the Chinese at that time, being the designation of an extensive sect then located in the Empire, and the name of a nation with which they had held commercial and political intercourse for several centuries. The statement here is in admirable harmony with the general tradition of the early Church, that the Magi or wise men mentioned in Matthew's Gospel were no other than philosophers of the Parsee sect.

[2] The "holy men" denote the writers of the books of the Old Testament.

[3] The "eight boundaries" are inexplicable; some refer them to the beatitudes.

[4] The "three constant principles" may perhaps mean faith, hope, and charity.

[5] Exactly the number we have in the New Testament.

tism, to wash away all superficial show and to cleanse and purify the neophytes. As a seal, they hold the cross, whose influence is reflected in every direction, uniting all without distinction. As they strike the wood, the fame of their benevolence is diffused abroad; worshiping toward the east, they hasten on the way to life and glory; they preserve the beard to symbolize their outward actions, they shave the crown to indicate the absence of inward affections; they do not keep slaves, but put noble and mean all on an equality; they do not amass wealth, but cast all their property into the common stock; they fast, in order to perfect themselves by self-inspection; they submit to restraints, in order to strengthen themselves by silent watchfulness; seven times a day they have worship and praise for the benefit of the living and the dead; once in seven days they sacrifice, to cleanse the heart and return to purity.

It is difficult to find a name to express the excellence of the true and unchangeable doctrine; but as its meritorious operations are manifestly displayed, by accommodation it is named the Illustrious Religion. Now without holy men, principles can not become expanded; without principles, holy men can not become magnified; but with holy men and right principles, united as the two parts of a signet, the world becomes civilized and enlightened.

In the time of the accomplished Emperor Tai-tsung, the illustrious and magnificent founder of the dynasty, among the enlightened and holy men who arrived was the most-virtuous Olopun, from the country of Syria. Observing the azure clouds, he bore the true sacred books; beholding the direction of the winds, he braved difficulties and dangers. In the year A.D. 635 he arrived at Chang-an; the Emperor sent his Prime Minister, Duke Fang Hiuen-ling; who, carrying the official staff to the west border, conducted his guest into the interior; the sacred books were translated in the imperial library, the sovereign investigated the subject in his private apartments; when becoming deeply impressed with the rectitude and truth of the religion, he gave special orders for its dissemination.

In the seventh month of the year A.D. 638 the following imperial proclamation was issued:

"Right principles have no invariable name, holy men have no invariable station; instruction is established in accordance with the locality, with the object of benefiting the people at large. The greatly virtuous Olopun, of the kingdom of Syria, has brought his sacred books and images from that distant part, and has presented them at our chief capital. Having examined the principles of this religion, we find them to be purely excellent and natural; investigating its originating source, we find it has taken its rise from the establishment of important truths; its ritual is free from perplexing expressions, its principles will survive when the framework is forgot; it is beneficial to all creatures; it is advantageous to mankind. Let it be published throughout the Empire, and let the proper authority build a Syrian church in the capital in the I-ning May, which shall be governed by twenty-one priests. When the virtue of the Chau Dynasty declined, the rider on the azure ox ascended to the west; the principles of the great Tang becoming resplendent, the Illustrious breezes have come to fan the East."

Orders were then issued to the authorities to have a true portrait of the Emperor taken; when it was transferred to the wall of the church, the dazzling splendor of the celestial visage irradiated the Illustrious portals. The sacred traces emitted a felicitous influence, and shed a perpetual splendor over the holy precincts. According to the Illustrated Memoir of the Western Regions, and the historical books of the Han and Wei dynasties, the kingdom of Syria reaches south to the Coral Sea; on the north it joins the Gem Mountains; on the west it extends toward the borders of the immortals and the flowery forests; on the east it lies open to the violent winds and tideless waters. The country produces fire-proof cloth, life-restoring incense, bright moon-pearls, and night-luster gems. Brigands and robbers are unknown, but the people enjoy happiness and peace. None but Illustrious laws prevail; none but the virtuous are raised to sovereign power.

The land is broad and ample, and its literary productions are perspicuous and clear.

The Emperor Kau-tsung respectfully succeeded his ancestor, and was still more beneficent toward the institution of truth. In every province he caused Illustrious churches to be erected, and ratified the honor conferred upon Olopun, making him the great conservator of doctrine for the preservation of the State. While this doctrine pervaded every channel, the State became enriched and tranquillity abounded. Every city was full of churches, and the royal family enjoyed luster and happiness. In the year A.D. 699 the Buddhists, gaining power, raised their voices in the eastern metropolis; in the year A.D. 713, some low fellows excited ridicule and spread slanders in the western capital. At that time there was the chief priest Lohan, the greatly virtuous Kie-leih, and others of noble estate from the golden regions, lofty-minded priests, having abandoned all worldly interests; who unitedly maintained the grand principles and preserved them entire to the end.

The high-principled Emperor Hiuen-tsung caused the Prince of Ning and others, five princes in all, personally to visit the felicitous edifice; he established the place of worship; he restored the consecrated timbers which had been temporarily thrown down; and re-erected the sacred stones which for a time had been desecrated.

In 742 orders were given to the great general Kau Lih-sz', to send the five sacred portraits and have them placed in the church, and a gift of a hundred pieces of silk accompanied these pictures of intelligence. Although the dragon's beard was then remote, their bows and swords were still within reach; while the solar horns sent forth their rays, and celestial visages seemed close at hand.[6]

In 744 the priest Kih-ho, in the kingdom of Syria, looking toward the star (of China), was attracted by its transforming

[6] These personages are the first five emperors of the Tang Dynasty, Hiuen-tsung's predecessors. Their portraits were so admirably painted that they seemed to be present, their arms could almost be handled, and their foreheads, or "horns of the sun," radiated their intelligence.

influence, and observing the sun (*i.e.*, Emperor), came to pay court to the most honorable. The Emperor commanded the priest Lo-han, the priest Pu-lun, and others, seven in all, together with the greatly virtuous Kih-ho, to perform a service of merit in the Hing-king palace. Thereupon the Emperor composed mottoes for the sides of the church, and the tablets were graced with the royal inscriptions; the accumulated gems emitted their effulgence, while their sparkling brightness vied with the ruby clouds; the transcripts of intelligence suspended in the void shot forth their rays as reflected by the sun; the bountiful gifts exceeded the height of the southern hills; the bedewing favors were deep as the eastern sea. Nothing is beyond the range of the right principle, and what is permissible may be identified; nothing is beyond the power of the holy man, and that which is practicable may be related.

The accomplished and enlightened Emperor Suh-tsung rebuilt the Illustrious churches in Ling-wu and four other places; great benefits were conferred, and felicity began to increase; great munificence was displayed, and the imperial State became established.

The accomplished and military Emperor Tai-tsung magnified the sacred succession, and honored the latent principle of nature; always, on the incarnation-day, he bestowed celestial incense, and ordered the performance of a service of merit; he distributed of the imperial viands, in order to shed a glory on the Illustrious Congregation. Heaven is munificent in the dissemination of blessings, whereby the benefits of life are extended; the holy man embodies the original principle of virtue, whence he is able to counteract noxious influences.

Our sacred and sage-like, accomplished and military Emperor Kien-chung appointed the eight branches of government, according to which he advanced or degraded the intelligent and dull; he opened up the nine categories, by means of which he renovated the Illustrious decrees; his transforming influence pervaded the most abstruse principles, while openness of heart distinguished his devotions. Thus, by cor-

rect and enlarged purity of principle, and undeviating consistency in sympathy with others; by extended commiseration rescuing multitudes from misery, while disseminating blessings on all around, the cultivation of our doctrine gained a grand basis, and by gradual advances its influence was diffused. If the winds and rains are seasonable, the world will be at rest; men will be guided by principle, inferior objects will be pure; the living will be at ease, and the dead will rejoice; the thoughts will produce their appropriate response, the affections will be free, and the eyes will be sincere; such is the laudable condition which we of the Illustrious Religion are laboring to attain.

Our great benefactor, the Imperially conferred purple-gown priest,[7] I-sz', titular Great Statesman of the Banqueting-house, Associated Secondary Military Commissioner for the Northern Region, and Examination-palace Overseer, was naturally mild and graciously disposed; his mind susceptible of sound doctrine, he was diligent in the performance; from the distant city of Rajagriha, he came to visit China; his principles more lofty than those of the three dynasties, his practise was perfect in every department; at first he applied himself to duties pertaining to the palace, eventually his name was inscribed on the military roll. When the Duke Koh Tsz'-i, Secondary Minister of State and Prince of Fan-yang, at first conducted the military in the northern region, the Emperor Suh-tsung made him (I-sz') his attendant on his travels; although he was a private chamberlain, he assumed no distinction on the march; he was as claws and teeth to the duke, and in rousing the military he was as ears and eyes; he distributed the wealth conferred upon him, not accumulating treasure for his private use; he made offerings of the

[7] It was no rare occurrence for priests to occupy civil and military offices in the State during the Tang and preceding dynasties. Of the three titles here given, the first is merely an indication of rank, by which the bearer is entitled to a certain emolument from the State; the second is his title as an officer actively engaged in the imperial service; and the third is an honorary title, which gives to the possessor a certain status in the capital, without any duties or emolument connected therewith.

jewelry which had been given by imperial favor, he spread out a golden carpet for devotion; now he repaired the old churches, anon he increased the number of religious establishments; he honored and decorated the various edifices, till they resembled the plumage of the pheasant in its flight; moreover, practising the discipline of the Illustrious Religion, he distributed his riches in deeds of benevolence; every year he assembled those in the sacred office from four churches, and respectfully engaged them for fifty days in purification and preparation; the naked came and were clothed; the sick were attended to and restored; the dead were buried in repose; even among the most pure and self-denying of the Buddhists, such excellence was never heard of; the white-clad members of the Illustrious Congregation, now considering these men, have desired to engrave a broad tablet, in order to set forth a eulogy of their magnanimous deeds.

ODE

The true Lord is without origin,
Profound, invisible, and unchangeable;
With power and capacity to perfect and transform,
He raised up the earth and established the heavens.

Divided in nature, he entered the world,
To save and to help without bounds;
The sun arose, and darkness was dispelled,
All bearing witness to his true original.

The glorious and resplendent, accomplished Emperor,
Whose principles embraced those of preceding monarchs,
Taking advantage of the occasion, suppressed turbulence;
Heaven was spread out and the earth was enlarged.

When the pure, bright Illustrious Religion
Was introduced to our Tang Dynasty,
The Scriptures were translated, and churches built,
And the vessel set in motion for the living and the dead;

Every kind of blessing was then obtained,
And all the kingdoms enjoyed a state of peace.

When Kau-tsung succeeded to his ancestral estate,
He rebuilt the edifices of purity;
Palaces of concord, large and light,
Covered the length and breadth of the land.

The true doctrine was clearly announced,
Overseers of the church were appointed in due form;
The people enjoyed happiness and peace,
While all creatures were exempt from calamity and distress.

When Hiuen-tsung commenced his sacred career,
He applied himself to the cultivation of truth and rectitude;
His imperial tablets shot forth their effulgence,
And the celestial writings mutually reflected their splendors.

The imperial domain was rich and luxuriant,
While the whole land rendered exalted homage;
Every business was flourishing throughout,
And the people all enjoyed prosperity.

Then came Suh-tsung, who commenced anew,
And celestial dignity marked the Imperial movements.
Sacred as the moon's unsullied expanse,
While felicity was wafted like nocturnal gales.

Happiness reverted to the Imperial household,
The autumnal influences were long removed;
Ebullitions were allayed, and risings suppressed,
And thus our dynasty was firmly built up.

Tai-tsung the filial and just
Combined in virtue with heaven and earth;

By his liberal bequests the living were satisfied,
And property formed the channel of imparting succor.

By fragrant mementoes he rewarded the meritorious,
With benevolence he dispensed his donations;
The solar concave appeared in dignity,
And the lunar retreat was decorated to extreme.

When Kien-chung succeeded to the throne,
He began the cultivation of intelligent virtue;
His military vigilance extended to the four seas,
And his accomplished purity influenced all lands.

His light penetrated the secrecies of men,
And to him the diversities of objects were seen as in a mirror;
He shed a vivifying influence through the whole realm of nature,
And all outer nations took him for example.

The true doctrine, how expansive!
Its responses are minute;
How difficult to name it!
To elucidate the three in one.

The sovereign has the power to act!
While the ministers record;
We raise this noble monument!
To the praise of great felicity.

This was erected in the 2d year of Kien-chung, of the Tang Dynasty (A.D. 781), on the 7th day of the 1st month, being Sunday.

Written by Lu Siu-yen, Secretary to Council, formerly Military Superintendent for Tai-chau; while the Bishop Ning-shu had the charge of the congregations of the Illustrious in the East.

[The two lines of Syriac are in the Estrangelo character,

and run down the right and left sides of the Chinese respectively. Kircher translates this as follows:]

"Adam, Deacon, Vicar-episcopal and Pope of China.
In the time of the Father of Fathers, the Lord John Joshua, the Universal Patriarch."

[The translation of the Syriac at the foot of the stone is given here on the authority of Kircher:]

"In the year of the Greeks one thousand and ninety-two, the Lord Jazedbuzid, Priest and Vicar-episcopal of Cumdan the royal city, son of the enlightened Mailas, Priest of Balach a city of Turkestan, set up this tablet, whereon is inscribed the Dispensation of our Redeemer, and the preaching of the apostolic missionaries to the King of China."

[After this, in Chinese characters, is]

"The Priest Lingpau."

[Then follows:]

"Adam the Deacon, son of Jazedbuzid, Vicar-episcopal.
The Lord Sergius, Priest and Vicar-episcopal.
Sabar Jesus, Priest.
Gabriel, Priest, Archdeacon, and Ecclesiarch of Cumdan and Sarag."

[The following subscription is appended in Chinese:]

"Assistant Examiner: the High Statesman of the Sacred rites, the Imperially conferred purple-gown Chief Presbyter and Priest Yi-li."

[On the left-hand edge are the Syriac names of sixty-seven priests, and sixty-one are given in Chinese.]

LATER LITERATURE

HISTORY AND DRAMA

"A somewhat curious sample of a very foreign literature."
— SIR JOHN DAVIS.

HISTORY AND DRAMA

(INTRODUCTION)

OF Sze-ma Chien, the first historian of China, we have already spoken. He died in the year 85 B.C., so that his records of Lao-Tze and the other sages approach near enough to their originals in time to preserve some resemblance to the living men. But his anecdotes can by no means be accepted entirely or with an exact literalness.

The drama given here, the "Han Koong Tsu," is one of the best known of the Chinese dramas, though as this form of literature is regarded by Chinamen as wholly undistinguished, no record has been preserved of the author's name or the drama's date. It is one of a collection called the "Hundred Plays of Yuen," and Sir John Davis, the noted scholar who translates it, declares it the best of the collection. In the original its length is much extended by a sort of operatic form of chanting the lines, with much repetition. The characters of the play are semi-historical, the emperor Yuen-te having ruled in the first century before Christ. The heroine, the Lady Chao-kuen, is a favorite theme in Chinese art, both for painting and for poetry.

HISTORY AND DRAMA

ANECDOTES FROM THE HISTORY OF

SZE-MA CHIEN

Lao-Tze said to Confucius, "The men about whom you talk are dead, and their bones are moldered to dust; only their words are left. Moreover, when the superior man gets his opportunity, he mounts aloft; but when the time is against him, he is carried along by the force of circumstances. I have heard that a good merchant, though he have rich treasures safely stored, appears as if he were poor; and that the superior man, though his virtue be complete, is yet to outward seeming stupid. Put away your proud air and many desires, your insinuating habit and wild will. They are of no advantage to you — this is all I have to tell you." Confucius said to his disciples after the interview: "I know how birds can fly, fishes swim, and animals run. But the runner may be snared, the swimmer hooked, and the flyer shot by the arrow. But there is the dragon: I can not tell how he mounts on the wind through the clouds, and rises to heaven. To-day I have seen Lao-Tze, and can only compare him to the dragon."

Lao-Tze cultivated the Tao and its attributes, the chief aim of his studies being how to keep himself concealed and remain unknown. He continued to reside at the capital of Chau, but after a long time, seeing the decay of the dynasty, he left it and went away to the barrier-gate, leading out of the kingdom on the northwest. Yin Hsi, the warden of the gate, said to him, "You are about to withdraw yourself out of sight. Let me insist on your first composing for me a book." On this, Lao-Tze wrote a book in two parts, setting forth his views on the Tao and its attributes, in more than

5000 characters. He then went away, and it is not known where he died. He was a superior man, who liked to keep himself unknown.

Those who attach themselves to the doctrine of Lao-Tze condemn that of the Literati, and the Literati on their part condemn Lao-Tze, verifying the saying, "Parties whose principles are different can not take counsel together." Lao-Tze taught that by doing nothing others are as a matter of course transformed, and that rectification in the same way ensues from being pure and still.

Chuang-Tze had made himself well acquainted with all the literature of his time, but preferred the views of Lao-Tze, and ranked himself among his followers, so that of the more than ten myriads of characters contained in his published writings the greater part are occupied with metaphorical illustrations of Lao's doctrines. He made "The Old Fisherman," "The Robber Chih," and "The Cutting open Satchels," to satirize and expose the disciples of Confucius, and clearly exhibit the sentiments of Lao. Such names and characters as "Wei-lei Hsu" and "Khang-sang Tze" are fictitious, and the pieces where they occur are not to be understood as narratives of real events.

But Chuang was an admirable writer and skilful composer, and by his instances and truthful descriptions hit and exposed the Mohists and Literati. The ablest scholars of his day could not escape his satire nor reply to it, while he allowed and enjoyed himself with his sparkling, dashing style; and thus it was that the greatest men, even kings and princes, could not use him for their purposes.

King Wei of Chu, having heard of the ability of Chuang Chau, sent messengers with large gifts to bring him to his court, and promising also that he would make him his chief minister. Chuang-Tze, however, only laughed and said to them, "A thousand ounces of silver are a great gain to me, and to be a high noble and minister is a most honorable position. But have you not seen the victim-ox for the border

sacrifice? It is carefully fed for several years, and robed with rich embroidery that it may be fit to enter the Grand Temple. When the time comes for it to do so, it would prefer to be a little pig, but it can not get to be so. Go away quickly, and do not soil me with your presence. I had rather amuse and enjoy myself in the midst of a filthy ditch than be subject to the rules and restrictions in the court of a sovereign. I have determined never to take office, but prefer the enjoyment of my own free will."

THE HAN KOONG TSU

OR

AUTUMN OF THE PALACE OF HAN[1]

Prologue

Enter Hanchenyu, K'han of the Tartars, reciting four verses.

K'han. The autumnal gale blows wildly through the grass, amidst our woolen tents.
And the moon of night, shining on the rude huts, hears the lament of the mournful pipe:
The countless hosts, with their bended horns, obey me as their leader.

Our tribes are ten distinguished friends of the family of Han. I am Hanchenyu, the old inhabitant of the sandy waste; the sole ruler of the northern regions. The wild chase is our trade; battle and conquest our chief occupation. The Emperor Wunwong retired before our Eastern tribes; Weikeang trembled at us, and sued for our friendship. The ancient title of our chiefs has in the course of time been changed to that which I now bear. When the two races of Tsin and Han contended in battle, and filled the empire with tumult, our tribes were in full power: numberless was the host of armed warriors with their bended horns. For seven days my ancestor hemmed in with his forces the Emperor Kaoute; until, by the contrivance of the minister, a treaty was concluded, and the Princesses of China were yielded in marriage to our K'hans. Since the time of Hoeyte and the Empress Leuhow,[2] each successive generation has adhered to the established rule,

1 In Chinese Autumn is emblematic of Sorrow, as Spring is of Joy. Hence this title was originally translated by Sir John Davis as "The Sorrows of Han."

2 The mother of Hoeyte, a bold and able woman, who ruled for her son, the second emperor of Han.

and sought our alliance with its daughters. In the reign of the late Emperor Seuente, my brothers contended with myself for the rule of our nation, and its power was weakened until the tribes elected me as their chief. I am a real descendant of the empire of Han. I command a hundred thousand armed warriors. We have moved to the South, and approached the border, claiming an alliance with the Imperial race. Yesterday I dispatched an envoy with tributary presents to demand a princess in marriage; but know not if the Emperor will ratify the engagement with the customary oaths. The fineness of the season has drawn away our chiefs on a hunting excursion amidst the sandy steppes. May they meet with success, for we Tartars have no fields — our bows and arrows are our sole means of subsistence.

Enter Minister of Han, reciting verses.

MINISTER. Let a man have the heart of a kite, and the talons of an eagle.
Let him deceive his superiors, and oppress those below him;
Let him enlist flattery, insinuation, profligacy, and avarice on his side,
And he will find them a lasting assistance through life.
I am no other than Maouyenshow, a minister of the sovereign of Han. By a hundred arts of specious flattery and address I have deceived the Emperor, until he places his whole delight in me alone. My words he listens to; and he follows my counsel. Within the precincts of the palace, as without them, who is there but bows before me — who is there but trembles at my approach? But observe the chief art which I have learned: It is this: to persuade the Emperor to keep aloof from his wise counselors, and seek all his pleasures amidst the women of his palace. Thus it is that I strengthen my power and greatness. But, in the midst of my lucubrations — Here comes the Emperor.

Enter Emperor Yuente, attended by Eunuchs and Women.

EMPEROR [*recites verses*]. During the ten generations that have succeeded our acquisition of Empire, my race has alone possessed the four hundred districts of the world. Long have the frontiers been bound in tranquillity by the ties of mutual oaths.

And our pillow has been undisturbed by grief or anxiety. Behold in us the Emperor Yuente, of the race of Han. Our ancestor Kaoute emerged from a private station, and raised his family by extinguishing the dynasty of Tsin, and slaughtering their race. Ten generations have passed away since he left this inheritance to us. The four boundaries of the empire have been tranquil; the eight regions at rest! But not through our personal merits; we have wholly depended on the exertions of our civil and military rulers. On the demise of our late father, the female inmates of the palace were all dispersed, and our harem is now solitary and untenanted; but how shall this be endured!

MINISTER. Consider, sir, that even the thriving husbandman may desire to change his partner; then why not your Majesty, whose title is the Law of Heaven, whose possessions are the whole world! May I advise that commissioners be dispatched to search throughout the empire for all of whatever rank that is most beautiful between the ages of fifteen and twenty, for the peopling of the inner palace.

EMPEROR. You say well. We appoint you at once our minister of selection, and will invest you with a written authority. Search diligently through our realms; and when you have selected the most worthy, let us be provided with portraits of each, as a means of fixing our choice. By the merits of your services, you may supply us with an occasion of rewarding you on your return.

[*Exeunt.*

ACT FIRST

MINISTER [*repeats verses*]. The huge ingots of yellow gold I appropriate to myself.

I heed not the seas of blood which flow by perverting the laws.

During life I am determined to have abundance of riches; what care I for the curses of mankind after my death? Having received the Emperor's commission to search far and wide for the most beautiful damsels, I have fixed upon ninety and nine. Their families were glad to invite my selection by rich gifts, and the treasure that I have amassed is not small. On arriving yesterday at a district pertaining to Chingtoo city, I met with a maiden, daughter of one Wongchang. The brightness of her charms was piercing as an arrow. She was perfectly beautiful — and doubtless unparalleled in the whole empire. But, unfortunately, her father is a cultivator of the land, not possessed of much wealth. When I insisted on a hundred ounces of gold to secure her being the chief object of the Imperial choice, they first pleaded their poverty — and then, relying on her extraordinary beauty, rejected my offers altogether. I therefore left them. [*Considers awhile.*] But no! — I have a better plan. [*He knits his brows and matures his scheme.*] I will disfigure her portrait in such a manner that when it reaches the Emperor it shall secure her being doomed to neglected seclusion. Thus I shall contrive to make her unhappy for life.— Base is the man who delights not in revenge! [*Exit.*

Night.— Enter the Lady Chaoukeun, with two female attendants.

Chaoukeun [*recites verses*]. Though raised to be an inhabitant of the Imperial dwelling

I have long been here without the good fortune to see my prince.

This beautiful night must I pass in lonely solitude,

With no companion but my lute to solace my retirement.

I am a native of Chingtoo city; and my father's occupation is husbandry. My mother dreamed on the day I was born that the light of the moon shone on her bosom,

but was soon cast low to the earth.[3] I was just eighteen years of age when chosen as an inhabitant of the Imperial palace; but the minister Maouyenshow, disappointed in the treasure which he demanded on my account, disfigured my portrait in such a manner as to keep me out of the Emperor's presence; and now I live in neglected solitude. While at home, I learned a little music, and could play a few airs on the lute. Thus sorrowing in the stillness of midnight, let me practise one of my songs to dispel my griefs.

[*Begins to play on the lute.*

Enter Emperor, attended by a Eunuch, carrying a light.

EMPEROR. Since the beauties were selected to grace our palace, we have not yet discovered a worthy object on whom to fix our preference. Vexed and disappointed, we pass this day of leisure roaming in search of her who may be destined for our Imperial choice. [*Hears the lute.*] Is not that some lady's lute?

ATTENDANT. It is.— I hasten to advise her of your Majesty's approach.

EMPEROR. No, hold! Keeper of the yellow gate, discover to what part of our palace that lady pertains; and bid her approach our presence; but beware lest you alarm her.

ATTENDANT [*approaches in the direction of the sound, and speaks*]. What lady plays there? The Emperor comes! approach to meet him. [*Lady advances.*

EMPEROR. Keeper of the yellow gate, see that the light burns brightly within your gauze[4] lamp, and hold it nearer to us.

LADY [*approaching*]. Had your handmaid but known it was your Majesty, she would have been less tardy; forgive, then, this delay.

[3] Boding a short but fatal distinction to her offspring.
[4] Instead of glass, to defend it from the wind.

EMPEROR. Truly this is a very perfect beauty! From what quarter come such superior charms?

LADY. My name is Chaoukeun: my father cultivates at Chingtoo the fields which he has derived from his family. Born in an humble station, I am ignorant of the manners that befit a palace.

EMPEROR. But with such uncommon attractions, what chance has kept you from our sight?

LADY. When I was chosen by the minister Maouyenshow, he demanded of my father an amount of treasure which our poverty could not supply; he therefore disfigured my portrait, by representing a scar under the eyes, and caused me to be consigned to seclusion and neglect.

EMPEROR. Keeper of the yellow gate, bring us that picture, that we may view it. [*Sees the picture.*] Ah, how has he dimmed the purity of the gem, bright as the waves in autumn. [*To the attendant.*] Transmit our pleasure to the officer of the guard, to behead Maouyenshow and report to us his execution.

LADY. My parents, sir, are subject to the tax[5] in our native district. Let me entreat your Majesty to remit their contributions and extend favor toward them!

EMPEROR. That shall readily be done. Approach and hear our Imperial pleasure. We create you a Princess of our palace.

LADY. How unworthy is your handmaid of such gracious distinction! [*Goes through the form of returning thanks.*] Early to-morrow I attend your Majesty's commands in this place. The Emperor is gone: let the attendants close the doors: I will retire to rest. [*Exit.*

[5] The principal taxes in China are the land-tax, customs, salt monopoly, and personal service; which last is the source of much oppression to the lowest orders, who have nothing but their labor to contribute.

Act Second

Enter K'han of the Tartars, at the head of his Tribes.

K'han. I lately sent an envoy to the sovereign of Han, with the demand of a princess in marriage; but the Emperor has returned a refusal, under the plea that the princess is yet too young. This answer gives me great trouble. Had he not plenty of ladies in his palace, of whom he might have sent me one? The difference was of little consequence.[6] Let me recall my envoy with all speed, for I must invade the South with our forces. And yet I am unwilling to break a truce of so many years' standing! We must see how matters turn out, and be guided by the event.

Enter Minister of Han.

Minister. The severity with which I extorted money, in the selection of beauties for the palace, led me to disfigure the picture of Chaoukeun, and consign her to neglected seclusion. But the Emperor fell in with her, obtained the truth, and condemned me to lose my head. I contrived to make my escape — though I have no home to receive me. I will take this true portrait of Chaoukeun and show it to the Tartar K'han, persuading him to demand her from the Emperor, who will no doubt be obliged to yield her up. A long journey has brought me to this spot, and from the troops of men and horses I conclude I have reached the Tartar camp. [*Addresses himself to somebody.*] Leader, inform King Hanchenyu that a great minister of the empire of Han is come to wait on him.

K'han [*on being informed*]. Command him to approach. [*Seeing Maouyenshow.*] What person are you?

Minister. I am a minister of Han. In the western palace of the Emperor is a lady, named Chaoukeun, of rare

[6] The honor of the Imperial alliance being the chief object.

and surpassing charms. When your envoy, great king, came to demand a princess, this lady would have answered the summons, but the Emperor of Han could not bring himself to part with her, and refused to yield her up. I repeatedly renewed my bitter reproaches, and asked how he could bear, for the sake of a woman's beauty, to implicate the welfare of two nations. For this the Emperor would have beheaded me; and I therefore escaped with the portrait of the lady, which I present, great king, to yourself. Should you send away an envoy with the picture to demand her, she must certainly be delivered up. Here is the portrait. [*Hands it up.*

K'HAN. Whence could so beautiful a female have appeared in the world! If I can only obtain her, my wishes are complete. Immediately shall an envoy be dispatched, and my ministers prepare a letter to the Emperor of Han, demanding her in marriage as the condition of peace. Should he refuse, I will presently invade the South: his hills and rivers shall be exposed to ravage. Our warriors will commence by hunting, as they proceed on their way; and thus gradually entering the frontiers, I shall be ready to act as may best suit the occasion. [*Exit.*

The Palace of Han. Enter Lady, attended by females.

PRINCESS. A long period has elapsed since I had to thank his Majesty for his choice. The Emperor's fondness for me is so great, that he has still neglected to hold a court. I hear he is now gone to the hall of audience, and will therefore ornament myself at my toilet and be ready to wait on him at his return. [*Stands opposite a mirror.*

Enter Emperor.

EMPEROR. Since we first met with Chaoukeun in the western palace, we have been as it were deranged and intoxicated; a long interval has elapsed since we held a court; and on entering the hall of audience this day, we waited

not until the assembly had dispersed, but returned hither to obtain a sight of her. [*Perceiving the Princess.*] Let us not alarm her, but observe in secret what she is doing. [*Comes close behind and looks over her.*] Reflected in that round mirror, she resembles the Lady in the Moon.[7]

Enter President, and an Officer in waiting.

PRESIDENT [*recites verses*]. Ministers should devote themselves to the regulation of the empire;
They should be occupied with public cares in the hall of government.
But they do naught but attend at the banquets in the palace.
When have they employed a single day in the service of their prince?
This day, when the audience was concluded, an envoy arrived from the Tartars to demand Chaoukeun in marriage, as the only condition of peace. It is my duty to report this to his Majesty, who has retired to his western palace. Here I must enter. [*Perceiving the Emperor.*] I report to your Majesty that Hanchenyu, the leader of the northern foreigners, sends an envoy to declare that Maouyenshow has presented to him the portrait of the princess, and that he demands her in marriage as the only condition of peace. If refused, he will invade the South with a great power, and our rivers and hills will be exposed to rapine.

EMPEROR. In vain do we maintain and send forth armies; vain are the crowds of civil and military officers about our palace! Which of them will drive back for us these foreign troops? They are all afraid of the Tartar swords and arrows! But if they can not exert themselves to expel the barbarians, why call for the princess to propitiate them?

7 Changngo, the goddess of the moon, gives her name to the finely curved eyebrows of the Chinese ladies, which are compared to the lunar crescent when only a day or two old.

PRESIDENT. The foreigners say that through your Majesty's devoted fondness for the princess, the affairs of your empire are falling into ruin. They declare that if the government does not yield her up, they will put their army in motion, and subdue the country. Your servant reflects, that Chow-wong [8] who lost his empire and life entirely through his blind devotion to Takee, is a fit example to warn your Majesty. Our army is weak, and needs the talents of a fit general. Should we oppose the Tartars, and be defeated, what will remain to us? Let your Majesty give up your fondness for the princess, to save your people.

OFFICER. The envoy waits without for an audience.

EMPEROR. Well; command that he approach us.

Enter Envoy.

ENVOY. Hanchenyu, K'han of the Tartars, sends me, his minister, to state before the great Sovereign of Han that the Northern tribes and the Southern empire have long been bound in peace by mutual alliances; but that envoys being twice sent to demand a princess, his requisitions have been refused. The late minister, Maouyenshow, took with him the portrait of a beautiful lady, and presented it to the K'han, who now sends me, his envoy, on purpose to demand the Lady Chaoukeun, and no other, as the only condition of peace between the two nations. Should your Majesty refuse, the K'han has a countless army of brave warriors, and will forthwith invade the South to try the chances of war. I trust your Majesty will not err in your decision.

EMPEROR. The envoy may retire to repose himself in his lodging. [*Exit the Envoy.*] Let our civil and military officers consult, and report to us the best mode of causing the foreign troops to retire, without yielding

[8] Chow-wong was the last of the Shang Dynasty, and infamous by his debaucheries and cruelties, in concert with his empress Takee, the Theodora of Chinese history.

up the princess to propitiate them. They take advantage of the compliant softness of her temper. Were the Empress Leuhow alive — let her utter a word — which of them would dare to be of a different opinion? It would seem that, for the future, instead of men for ministers, we need only have fair women to keep our empire in peace.

PRINCESS. In return for your Majesty's bounties, it is your handmaid's duty to brave death to serve you. I can cheerfully enter into this foreign alliance, for the sake of producing peace, and shall leave behind me a name still green in history.— But my affection for your Majesty, how am I to lay aside!

EMPEROR. Alas, I know too well that I can do no more than yourself!

PRESIDENT. I entreat your Majesty to sacrifice your love, and think of the security of your Dynasty. Hasten, sir, to send the princess on her way!

EMPEROR. Let her this day advance a stage on her journey, and be presented to the envoy. To-morrow we will repair as far as the bridge of Pahling, and give her a parting feast.

PRESIDENT. Alas! Sir, this may not be! It will draw on us the contempt of these barbarians.

EMPEROR. We have complied with all our minister's propositions — shall they not, then, accede to ours? Be it as it may, we will witness her departure — and then return home to hate the traitor Maouyenshow!

PRESIDENT. Unwillingly we advise that the princess be sacrificed for the sake of peace; but the envoy is instructed to insist upon her alone — and from ancient times, how often hath a nation suffered for a woman's beauty!

PRINCESS. Though I go into exile for the nation's good, yet ill can I bear to part from your Majesty! [*Exeunt.*

Act Third

Enter Envoy, escorting the Princess, with a band of music.

Princess. Thus was I, in spite of the treachery of Maouyen-show, who disfigured my portrait, seen and exalted by his Majesty; but the traitor presented a truer likeness to the Tartar king, who comes at the head of an army to demand me, with a threat of seizing the country. There is no remedy — I must be yielded up to propitiate the invaders! How shall I bear the rigors — the winds and frosts of that foreign land! It has been said of old that "surpassing beauty is often coupled with an unhappy fate." Let me grieve, then, without entertaining fruitless resentment at the effects of my own attractions.

Enter Emperor, attended by his several officers.

Emperor. This day we take leave of the princess at Pahling bridge! [*To his ministers.*] Can ye not devise a way to send out these foreign troops, without yielding up the princess for the sake of peace? [*Descends from his horse and seems to grieve with Chaoukeun.*] Let our attendants delay awhile, till we have conferred the parting cup.

Envoy. Lady, let us urge you to proceed on your way — the sky darkens, and night is coming on.

Princess. Alas! when shall I again behold your Majesty? I will take off my robes of distinction and leave them behind me. To-day in the palace of Han — to-morrow I shall be espoused to a stranger. I cease to wear these splendid vestments — they shall no longer adorn my beauty in the eyes of men.

Envoy. Again let us urge you, princess, to depart; we have delayed but too long already!

Emperor. 'Tis done! — Princess, when you are gone, let your thoughts forbear to dwell with sorrow and resent-

ment upon us! [*They part.*] And am I the great Monarch of the line of Han?

PRESIDENT. Let your Majesty cease to dwell with such grief upon this subject!

EMPEROR. She is gone! In vain have we maintained those armed heroes on the frontier.[9] Mention but swords and spears, and they tremble at their hearts like a young deer. The princess has this day performed what belonged to themselves: and yet they affect the semblance of men!

PRESIDENT. Your Majesty is entreated to return to the palace: dwell not so bitterly, Sir, on her memory: allow her to depart!

EMPEROR. Did I not think of her, I had a heart of iron — a heart of iron! The tears of my grief stream in a thousand channels — this evening shall her likeness be suspended in the palace, where I will sacrifice to it — and tapers with their silver lights shall illuminate her chamber.

PRESIDENT. Let your Majesty return to the palace — the princess is already far distant! [*Exeunt.*

The Tartar Camp. Enter K'han at the head of his tribes, leading in the Princess.

K'HAN. The Emperor of Han having now, in observance of old treaties, yielded up to me the Lady Chaoukeun in marriage, I take her as my rightful queen. The two nations shall enjoy the benefits of peace. [*To his generals.*] Leaders, transmit my commands to the army to strike our encampment, and proceed to the north. [*They march.*

[9] It may be observed that the great wall is never once expressly mentioned through this drama. The expression used is *Peensih*, the border, or frontier. The wall had existed two hundred years at this time, but the real frontier was beyond it.

The river Amoor.[10] *Tartar army on its march.*

PRINCESS. What place is this?

ENVOY. It is the River of the Black Dragon, the frontier of the Tartar territories and those of China. This southern shore is the Emperor's; on the northern side commences our Tartar dominion.

PRINCESS [*to the K'han*]. Great King, I take a cup of wine, and pour a libation toward the South — my last farewell to the Emperor — [*pours the libation*] of Han, this life is finished. I await thee in the next!

[*Throws herself into the river. The K'han, in great consternation, endeavors to save her, but in vain.*

K'HAN. Alas! alas! — so determined was her purpose against this foreign alliance — she has thrown herself into the stream, and perished! 'Tis done, and remediless! Let her sepulcher be on this river's bank, and be it called "the verdant tomb."[11] She is no more; and vain has been our enmity with the dynasty of Han! The traitor Maouyenshow was the author of all this misery. [*To an officer.*] Take Maouyenshow and let him be delivered over to the Emperor for punishment. I will return to our former friendship with the dynasty of Han. We will renew and long preserve the sentiments of relationship. The traitor disfigured the portrait to injure Chaoukeun — then deserted his sovereign, and stole over to me, whom he prevailed on to demand the lady in marriage. How little did I think that she would thus precipitate herself into the stream, and perish! — In vain did my spirit melt at the sight of her! But if I detained this profligate and traitorous rebel, he would certainly prove to us a root of misfortune: it is better to deliver him for his reward to the Emperor of Han, with whom I will renew, and long retain, our old feelings of friendship and amity. [*Exeunt.*

[10] Or Saghalien, which falls into the sea of Ochotsk.
[11] Said to exist now and to be green all the year.

Act Fourth

Enter Emperor, with an attendant.

Emperor. Since the princess was yielded to the Tartars we have not held an audience. The lonely silence of night but increases our melancholy! We take the picture of that fair one and suspend it here, as some small solace to our griefs. [*To the attendant.*] Keeper of the yellow gate, behold, the incense in yonder vase is burned out: hasten then to add some more. Though we can not see her, we may at least retain this shadow; and, while life remains, betoken our regard. But oppressed and weary, we would fain take a little repose.

[*Lies down to sleep. The Princess appears before him in a vision.*

Princess. Delivered over as a captive to appease the barbarians, they would have conveyed me to their Northern country: but I took an occasion to elude them and have escaped back. Is not this the Emperor, my sovereign? Sir, behold me again restored.

[*A Tartar soldier appears in the vision.*

Soldier. While I chanced to sleep, the lady, our captive, has made her escape, and returned home. In eager pursuit of her, I have reached the imperial palace.— Is not this she?

[*Carries her off. The Emperor starts from his sleep.*

Emperor. We just saw the Princess returned — but alas, how quickly has she vanished! In bright day she answered not to our call — but when morning dawned on our troubled sleep, a vision presented her in this spot. [*Hears the wild fowl's* [12] *cry.*] Hark, the passing fowl screamed twice or thrice! — Can it know there is no one so desolate as I? [*Cries repeated.*] Perhaps worn out and weak, hungry and emaciated, they bewail

12 Yengo, a species of wild goose, is the emblem in China of intersexual attachment and fidelity, being said never to pair again after the loss of its mate. An image of it is worshiped by newly married couples.

at once the broad nets of the South and the tough bows of the North. [*Cries repeated.*] The screams of those water-birds but increase our melancholy.

ATTENDANT. Let your Majesty cease this sorrow, and have some regard to your sacred [13] person.

EMPEROR. My sorrows are beyond control. Cease to upbraid this excess of feeling, since ye are all subject to the same. Yon doleful cry is not the note of the swallow on the carved rafters, nor the song of the variegated bird upon the blossoming tree. The princess has abandoned her home! Know ye in what place she grieves, listening like me to the screams of the wild bird?

Enter President.

PRESIDENT. This day after the close of the morning council, a foreign envoy appeared, bringing with him the fettered traitor Maouyenshow. He announces that the renegade, by deserting his allegiance, led to the breach of truce, and occasioned all these calamities. The princess is no more! and the K'han wishes for peace and friendship between the two nations. The envoy attends, with reverence, your imperial decision.

EMPEROR. Then strike off the traitor's head, and be it presented as an offering to the shade of the princess! Let a fit banquet be got ready for the envoy, preparatory to his return. [*Recites these verses.*

At the fall of the leaf, when the wild fowl's cry was heard in the recesses of the palace,
Sad dreams returned to our lonely pillow; we thought of her through the night:
Her verdant tomb remains — but where shall we seek herself?
The perfidious painter's head shall atone for the beauty which he wronged.

[13] Literally, "dragon person." The emperor's throne is often called the "dragon seat."

THE END

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